

THE
DAYS
OF
JAMES
IV



7/6

William K. Litchie

January, 1969.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

SCOTTISH HISTORY
BY CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

The Days of James iiiij.

1488—1513.

Although good Chronicles and Gestes are in favour and please many hearers, yet men, whose attention is occupied by the many pressing duties as well as the ever-present and varied cares of life, cannot without great difficulty give their time to the perusal of heavy tomes—a labour which oftentimes makes them weary, and deadens in their hearts the desire to learn. It is therefore our intention, under correction of those whom it concerns or may in any way in time coming concern, to treat briefly and concisely of every matter which is useful and profitable; and, as it is vanity to do by more words what may be done by fewer, to seek out, extract, and arrange, like a honey-bee amid wild flowers, doing them no hurt, whatever seems necessary for the proper telling of the story.

—*From the BOOK OF PLUSCARDIN, 1461.*



Willelmus abbas

(The original is preserved in King's College Chapel, Aberdeen. The signature is reproduced without reduction from the Treasurer's Accounts).

SCOTTISH HISTORY BY CONTEMPORARY
WRITERS.

The Days of James iii,

1488—1513.

*Extracts from the Royal Letters, Polydore, Vergil and Hall,
Major, Boece, Myln, The State Papers, &c., &c., &c.*

ARRANGED AND EDITED BY

G. GREGORY SMITH,

M.A. Edin., B.A. Oxon.

LONDON:

DAVID NUTT, 57—59, LONG ACRE.

—
1900.

BEDFORD:
BEDS. PUBLISHING CO., 22, MILL STREET.



THE series, of which the present volume is one, aims at setting forth the facts of our National History, political and social, in a way not yet systematically tried in this country, but somewhat like that which Messrs. Hachette have successfully wrought out in France under the editorship of MM. Zellar, Darsy, Luchaire, etc. It is planned not only for educational use but for the general reader, and especially for all those to whom the original contemporary authorities are for various reasons difficult of access.

To each well-defined period of our history is given a little volume made up of extracts from the chronicles, state papers, memoirs, and letters of the time, as also from other contemporary literature, the whole chronologically arranged and chosen so as to give a living picture of the effect produced upon each generation by the political, religious, social, and intellectual movements in which it took part.

Extracts from foreign tongues are Englished, and passages from old English authors put into modern spelling, but otherwise as far as may be kept in original form. When needed a glossary is added and brief explanatory notes. To each volume is also appended a short account of the writers quoted and of their relations to the events they describe, as well as such tables and summaries as may facilitate reference. Such illustrations as are given are chosen in the same spirit as the text, and represent monuments, documents, sites, portraits, coins, etc.

The chief aim of the series is to send the reader to the best original authorities, and so to bring him as close as may be to the mind and feelings of the times he is reading about.

No definite chronological system of issue is adopted, but it is hoped that the entire period of Mediæval and Renaissance history may be covered in the space of two or three years.

F. YORK POWELL,

Editor of the Series.

Ch. Ch., Oxford, 1887.

PREFACE.

JAMES the Fourth was king at a time of great political and social change in Europe, and Scotland was not outside the influence. She began to assume a position in European politics, chiefly because of the opportunity which she afforded for furthering or checking the schemes against the insecure throne of Henry VII. A proof of this position is found in the large correspondence which James held with nearly every power in Europe from Spain to the Baltic. This was the time too of Scotland's naval and commercial expansion.

The long feud with England was ended by the peace of 1502, the first for over one hundred and seventy years; and James was wedded to Margaret Tudor in the following year, exactly a century before the accession of their great grandson to the English throne. Yet ten years later, Scotland, through the treachery of one man and the folly of another, lost her king and almost all her nobility on English soil.

The internal and social history of the reign transcends the political in interest and value. The period stands out in strong relief from the disorders of the preceding reign, and the anarchy of the next. Successful attempts were made to restore law and order; and the general national condition was improved in many ways. James's policy, though vigorous, was

PREFACE.

conciliatory; hence the almost unanimous loyalty of the nobles who had deprived his father of the Crown.

These were the golden days of Scottish literature and chivalry and art, the time of Dunbar, Gawin Douglas, and the 'Makars,' of learned men like Elphinstone and Pantar, whom James gathered round him, to his own delight, and to the glory of the Court which Ariosto and Erasmus praised. As a foil to William Elphinstone, James's good genius, stands Andrew Forman, the representative of the new political spirit and method which Italy had made popular.

It is unfortunate that, on account of the nature of the authorities, several interesting items, such as the rebellion of Lennox, and the message of the French Queen, are not accessible in contemporary *narrative*. Much information can be had from the Exchequer Rolls and Treasurer's Accounts, but such material cannot find place in a volume like the present, any more than the fuller versions of writers too late to be considered contemporary. A few quotations from later historians have been given, but the information is vouched for by them, as having been received direct from contemporary voice or record.

I am especially indebted to Thomas Dickson, Esq., LL.D., of the General Register House, Edinburgh, for giving access to books and MSS., and for his friendly assistance in the solution of difficulties.

Edinburgh, September, 1889.

The Days of James *iiii.*

1488, June.—The field of Stirling and the Coronation of James IV.

Hall, p. 448.

When nothing could move or pierce the stony hearts or frosty minds of the nobility of Scotland, in conclusion they met together in a pitched field, where after great slaughter of many men the poor wretched (*scly*) king fled into a mill for succour, whither he was followed, and there shamefully murdered, and unreverently, not like a prince or a crowned king. Then the princes of Scotland being satiated and filled with the blood and slaughter of their sovereign lord and king (thinking that they had well revenged the old displeasures to them done and committed by King James the Third) set up in the throne and estate royal the prince his son, and named him James, the fourth of that name.*

* Polydore Vergil (xxvi. 580) makes no mention of the Mill and the 'Murder.' The elaborate details, so often quoted, are not found in any *contemporary* writer. We must not forget that Hall's version is tinged by his monarchical ardour. It is difficult to explain the character of James III. and to estimate whether his fall was due to obstinacy or to a weak reserve. His son showed superior wisdom in his conciliatory policy to the nobles, even to those who had favoured his father's side, and had made a feeble effort at insurrection.

1488, Oct. 17.—The Debate and Cause of the Field of Stirling.

Acts of Parl.

[The declaration by Parliament of the innocence of the king and his partisans naturally succeeded the tragedy near Stirling and the Coronation. James had been forced by political circumstance into a position which, from his continual acts of penance, we know he must have felt most keenly. The following account is interesting as being the first record of a debate in the Scottish Parliament.]

In this present parliament, our sovereign lord being present together with his three estates of the realm, was proposed the debate and cause of the field of Stirling, in the which the former James King of Scotland, whom God assoil, father to our sovereign lord, happened to be slain; and the cause and occasion being argued among the lords of the three estates, John lord Glammis presented and shewed certain articles subscribed with the said former king James's hand, the tenor of which follows:—

These are the articles upon the which our sovereign lord shall give commission under his great seal to the lords under written, that is to say, the bishop of Aberdeen, Chancellor, the earl of Huntley, Earl Marshall, lord Glammis and Alexander Lindsay to commune, conclude, and end with these lords following, that is to say, the Bishop of Glasgow, the earls of Angus, Argyle, lord Hailes, and lord Lyle.

1. That the royal estate be exalted and borne up, that the king may exercise justice to all his lieges in all parts of his realm.

2. That his person be at all times in honourable

security and freedom; and that there be prelates, lords and others of wisdom, good disposition, and without suspicion, daily about him for the good guiding of his realm.

3. That all about the king, who in time past have done displeasure to his highness, make honourable amends to him, by the wisdom and discretion of the said lords.

4. That the king shall give honourable sustentation to the prince his son, at the consideration of the said lords.

5. That persons of wisdom and good disposition shall be daily about the prince for the good governance of him and security of his person in his tender age.

6. To advise and conclude how the prince shall in all time to come be obedient to his father, and how fatherly love and tenderness shall at all times be had between them.

7. How the lords about the prince's person shall have the king's favour and hearty forgiveness and their persons to be in security, as best can be desired by the said lords for any displeasure done to the king in any time past.

8. That the prince shall take into favour all the lords spiritual and temporal, and others who have been with the king in council or other service now in this time of trouble.

9. That all dissensions now standing between the great barons of both sides shall be drawn to unity

and concord, and especially between the earl of Buchan and lord Lyle.*

The which being read and shewn that the said articles were diverse times granted and broken by the perverse counsel of divers persons being with him for the time, which counselled and assisted him in the inbringing of Englishmen, and to the perpetual subjection of the realm, and under deceit and colour made and refused, and that our sovereign lord that now is ever consented to, for the common good of the realm, for the which the earl of Huntley, the Earl Marshall, the said lord Glammis and others, divers barons and others, the King's true lieges left him and his deceitful and perverse council and adhered (*anherdit*) to our sovereign lord that now is and his true opinion for the common good of the realm. The which matter being shewn, communed, examined by the three estates and the whole body of the parliament, they ripely advised, declared, and concluded, and in their lealty and allegiance each man for himself declares and concludes, that the slaughters committed and done in the field of Stirling, where our sovereign lord's father happened to be slain and divers others of his barons and lieges, were wholly by (*allutterly in*) their default and coloured deceit done by him and his perverse council divers times before the said field: and that our sovereign lord that now is, and the true lords and barons that were with him in the same field were innocent, white,

* The nine articles have been slightly curtailed as regards the official and legal phraseology.

and free of the said slaughters, . . . : and that the three estates, bishops, prelates, great barons, and burgesses give their seals hereupon together with our sovereign lord's great seal to be shewn and produced to our holy father the Pope, the Kings of France, Spain, Denmark, and other realms, as shall be seen expedient for the time.*

1489, Jan.—The erection of Glasgow into an archbishopric.

Acts of Parl., ii. 213.

[The following enactment was the cause of much dispute and jealousy between the sees of St. Andrews and Glasgow.]

It is concluded and ordained by our sovereign lord and his three estates that for the honour and public good of the realm the see of Glasgow be erected into an archbishopric with such privileges as are according to law, and such as the archbishopric of York has in all dignities, immunities, and privileges, as use and custom is, and as shall be compacted and agreed between the said bishop of Glasgow and the prelates and barons that our sovereign lord will take with him to be advised with: and that none of the king's lieges do in the contrary hereof, under the king's indignation and pains of breaking of his acts of parliament.

* An embassy was sent to France, England, Burgundy, and to the Emperor to show the Act of Indemnity, in order to clear the king of the suspicion of the murder of his father. In 1491 a reward of land in fee and heritage was offered to the discoverer of the murderer of James III.—‘for the eschewing and ceasing of the heavy murmur and voice of the people’ (*Acts of Parl.*, ii. 230).

1489.—How Sir Andrew Wood defeats the English off Dunbar.

Pitscottie, p. 100.

In the same year certain English ships came into our Firth, and spoiled the merchants and our friends that came into our waters. Of this the King and Council thought great ill and desired eagerly (*effectuously*) to be revenged thereof upon the said Englishmen; but they could get no man neither masters of ships, mariners nor shippers, that would take in hand to pass forth upon the said enemies; till at last they sent for sir Andrew Wood, knight of Largo, and desired him to pass forth upon the said Englishmen, and to that effect, he should be well furnished with men and artillery, and further, he should have the King's favour greatly, and be rewarded largely for his travel and labours. Of this desire the said sir Andrew Wood was well content, and passed forth to the Firth well manned with two ships to pass upon the said Englishmen, whom he 'foregathered' [joined] withal immediately before the Castle of Dunbar, where they fought long together with uncertain victory. For sir Andrew Wood had but two ships, as foresaid, called the *Felice Carrel* and the *Flower*; the king of England's ships were five in number with great artillery. Yet, notwithstanding, the Scottish ships prevailed at length, and that by the wisdom and manhood of their captain, which took all the five English ships and brought them to Leith as prisoners, and delivered their captain to the King's grace and Council. For the which victorious and manly act,

the captain, sir Andrew Wood, was well rewarded by the King's grace and Council, and holden in great estimation thereafter with the nobility of Scotland.

1489. How King Henry sends Stephen Bull to punish the Scots. and of the great sea fight in which the Scots are again victorious.

Ibid.

But soon after the king of England heard tell of the news, and how his ships were so foughten and taken by sir Andrew Wood, as foresaid. [He] was greatly discontent therewith, and made proclamations through all England, who would pass to the sea and fight with sir Andrew Wood ; and if he happened to take him prisoner, and bring him to him, he should have for his reward a thousand pounds sterling to spend by the year. There were many that refused, because they knew sir Andrew Wood to be such a captain upon the sea, and so chancy in battle, that he oftentimes obtained the victory ; therefore they had the less will to assail him. Notwithstanding, a captain of war, a gentleman named Stephen Bull, took in hand to the king of England to pass to the sea, and to fight with sir Andrew Wood, and bring him prisoner to the king of England, either dead or quick. Upon this the king of England was right glad, and caused (*gar!*) provide to the captain Stephen Bull three great ships well manned, well victualed, and well artillieried.

Soon after this the said captain passed to the sea, and sailed till he came to the Scottish Firth, that is

to say, at the back of May, and there lay and watched sir Andrew Wood's home-coming, who was then in Flanders for the time trusting then nothing but peace. Yet, notwithstanding, this captain Stephen Bull waiting his time at the back of the May, took many of our boats who were travelling in the Firth for fishes to gain their living ; notwithstanding the said Stephen Bull ransomed the shippers, and held many of the mariners prisoners to that effect that they should give him knowledge of sir Andrew Wood, when he came in the Firth. While at the last, upon a summer morning, a little after the day breaking, one of the English shippers perceived two ships coming under sail by St. Abb's Head. Then this Englishman caused some of their Scottish prisoners to pass to the top of the ships, that they might see or spy if it was sir Andrew Wood or not. But the Scottishmen had not will to shew the verity, but feigned, and said they knew them not ; but at last the captain promised them their ransom free, if they would tell him that it was he indeed, who certified him that it was he. Then the captain was blithe, and caused pierce the wine, and drank about to all his shippers and captains that were under him, praying them to take courage, for their enemies were at hand ; for the which cause he caused order his ships in the order of battle (*fier of war*), and set his quarter-masters and captains every man in his own room ; then caused his gunners to charge their artillery and put all in order, and left nothing undone pertaining unto a good captain.

On the other side sir Andrew Wood came pertly forward, knowing no impediment of enemies to be in his way (*gate*), till at the last he perceived these three ships under sail, and coming fast to them in order of battle (*fier of war*). Then sir Andrew Wood seeing this, exhorted his men to battle, beseeching them to take courage against their enemies of England, who had sworn and made their vows 'that they should make us prisoners to the king of England; but, God willing, they shall fail of their purpose. Therefore set yourselves in order, every man in his own room; let the gunners charge their artillery, and the crossbows be made ready, with the lime-pots and fire-balls in our tops, and two-handed swords in your fore-rooms*; and let every man be stout and diligent for his own part, and for the honour of this realm.' And hereto he caused fill the wine, and every man drank to the other.

By this the sun began to rise, and shone bright upon the sails; so the Englishmen appeared very awfully in the sight of the Scots, by reason their ships were very great and strong, and well furnished with greater artillery; yet, notwithstanding, the Scots feared nothing, but cast them to windward of the Englishmen, who, seeing that, shot a great cannon or two at the Scots, thinking they should have stricken sails at their boast. But the Scottishmen,

* Another version reads 'and let us keep our *over-lofts* [orlops] with two-handed swords.' See a companion picture in the *Complaynt of Scotland*, 1549, p. 41 (ed. Murray); also appendix L.

nothing afraid therewith came swiftly a-windward upon captain Stephen Bull, and clapped together from hand, and fought there from the sun-rising till the sun-setting in the long summer day, while all the men and women that dwelt near the coast came and beheld their fighting. The night sundered them, that they were forced to depart from each other, till on the morn that the day began to break fair, and their trumpets to blow on every side, they made them quickly to battle; who clapped together, and fought so cruelly, that neither the shippers nor mariners took head of their ships, but fighting still, till an ebb tide and south wind bore them to Inch Cape, opposite to (*foranents*) the mouth of Tay. The Scottishmen seeing this [so] took courage and hardiment, that they doubled their strokes upon the Englishmen, and there took Stephen Bull, and his three ships, and had them up to the town of Dundee, and there remained till their hurt men were cured and the dead buried; and then took their captain and had him to the King's Grace, and delivered him there as prisoner. And his Grace again received him very gladly, and thanked sir Andrew Wood greatly, and rewarded him richly for his manhood and labours. Then thereafter [the King] took the English captain and all his men, and gave them gifts of gold and silver, together with their ships, and sent them home to the king of England as a gift (*propyne*), doing him understand that he had as manful men, both by sea and land, in Scotland, as he had in England. He therefore desired him to send

none of his captains in time coming to perturb his men within his waters ; and if he would, they should not be so well treated, nor escape so well in time coming. Notwithstanding, the king of England hearing of this news was not content therewith ; but yet he thanked the king of Scotland for the delivery of his men and the entertainment of them.*

1490, May.—Of the subsidy demanded by Pope Innocent VIII. for a Crusade.

James IV. to the Pope. Venet. Papers I., p. 188.

Towards the end of last March two letters were brought to me from you by Robert, bishop of Glasgow. You thereby exhorted me, for resistance against the Turk, to send, along with the ambassadors of other kings, an ambassador of my own to Rome,—as I have done. The bishop also delivered to me, after long delay, another brief, which urges the grant of a pecuniary subsidy for the safeguard of the faith, and that I should forward the same to Rome before the Annunciation.† This it was impossible for me to do, inasmuch as the letters of your Holiness were brought to me after that day

* In Buchanan, xiii., 3 and 6, the first action is dated 1488, the second 1490. ‘This discrepancy of the accounts, yet their general similarity, and the fixed epoch assigned by Buchanan, concur to evince the veracity of the facts.’—Pinkerton. II. 13 n. ‘It is probable that the first action took place some time after the 18th of Feb., 1489.’—Tytler, iv. 301 n.

† 25th March.

had gone by. Moreover, my kingdom, situated as it is to the west and north and at a very great distance from Rome, does not overflow with silver and gold, although it abounds in other proper commodities.

Since assuming the crown I have exerted myself much to quell the disturbances prevailing in my kingdom, and to reduce it to peace and unity. This, in part accomplished, has exhausted the treasure left by my father. Our old enemies of England have also harassed my subjects, whom I have protected against the inroads of their adversaries by my assiduous exertions.

I will endeavour to obey your commands (although I have no store of gold to send) in such wise as not to be outdone either by my late father or by the other princes of Christendom; and will strive for the honour of the Apostolic See as stoutly and as lovingly as possible.

1491, 18 May.—Of Wappinschawings.

Acts of Parl.

It is statute and ordained* that each sheriff, steward, or bailie of the realm cause wappinschawings † to be made four times in the year in all places convenient within his bailierie‡ in this wise: That

* Cf. enactment of 1429.

† The word *Wapinschaw* is still used; lit. an exhibition (or *showing*) of arms.

‡ Bailiwick, jurisdiction.

each gentleman having ten pounds worth of land or more, be sufficiently harnessed and ‘anarmed’ with basnet,* sellat,† white-hat,‡ gorget§ or pissane,|| whole leg-harness, sword, spear and dagger : and gentlemen having less extent of lands or unlanded shall be armed at their goodly power, after the sight and discretion of the sheriffs and bailies and such persons as our sovereign lord shall depute commissioners thereto : and honest seamen having sufficient power, that like to be men of arms, to be harnessed sufficiently. . . and all other seamen of the realm between sixty and sixteen shall have sufficient bows and sheaves, sword, buckler, knife, spear, or a good axe instead of a bow ; and that all burgesses and indwellers in boroughs of the realm in like manner be “anarmed” and harnessed, and make wappinschawings, as said is, four times in the year. And that the aldermen and bailies be corrected by the chamberlain or his deputies, for the execution of the said things. And that all men of the realm both to borough and to land, spiritual men’s servants, and temporal, be well purveyed of the said harness and weapons by the feast of Midsummer next to come.

* A metal headpiece of globular form (Fr. bassinet).

† A light headpiece. (Fr. salade).

‡ A hat-shaped helmet of steel.

§ Armour for the *throat*.

|| ‘A part attached to the helmet.’—Meyrick.

1491, May 18.—The people to practise themselves in archery.*

Acts of Parl.

It is statute and ordained that in no place of the realm there be used foot-ball, golf, or other such unprofitable sports, for the common good of the realm and defence thereof. And that bows and shooting be practised (*hanted*) and bow-marks made [is] therefore ordained in each parish, under the pain of forty shillings to be raised by the sheriffs and bailies.

1493, May 8.—Fishing boats to be built and manned by the idle men of the burghs.

Acts of Parl. ii. 235.

Anent the great innumerable riches that are lost (*lint*) in fault of ships and 'busches'† to be used (*disponit*) for fishing such like as other realms have that are merchant with the sea, and for the policy and conquest that may be had herein, and to cause idle men and vagabonds to labour for their living for the eschewing of vices and idleness, and for the common profit and universal weal of the realm,—it is thought expedient by the Lords of the Articles, and also statute and ordained in this present parliament, that there be ships and 'busches' made in all

* Henry VII. tried to promote the practice of archery among the people, and the policy was fostered by his successors, *Cf.* —Act of Henry VIII, 1541. The crossbow was forbidden on that account. — See Henry VII, 1508, St. 19, c. 4.

† Busch or buss, a two or three masted fishing boat, identified later with the 'fly-boat.'—See *New Eng. Dict.*

burghs and towns within the realm. And that the least of the said ships and 'busches' be of twenty tons, and that towns and burghs have the said ships and busches according to the substance of each town, and to the manner, as after follows, well furnished with all necessary equipment for the said ships and busches, and with mariners' nets and with tackle, convenient for the taking of great fish and small. And all the said ships and busches to be ready made and furnished to pass to fishing by 'Fastren even,'* next to come. And in each burgh of the royalty that the officers of the burgh make all the stark idle men within their bounds to pass with the said ships for their wages. And if the said idle men refuse to pass, that they banish them the burgh.

1493.—Bishop Elphinstone goes on an embassy to the Emperor.

Bocce: Lives of Bishops of Murthlae and Aberdeen.

As King James had no troubles either at home or abroad, he turned his mind, chiefly by the advice of bishop William, to those matters which tended to the public welfare and honour. He restored the legal system (called the justice ayre) which for some years had fallen into abeyance owing to the disorders of the times, so that proper punishment was meted out to thieves, robbers, murderers, violators, marauders, and all manner of disturbers of the public peace. . . . At length when all things seemed peaceful, and action was either repressed or utterly

* Shrove-Tuesday.

removed, he called a parliament at Edinburgh, which by common consent decreed an embassy to be sent to the Emperor Maximilian, to demand his daughter Margaret. The young king eagerly sought that maiden to wife, for he thought that the royal glory would be increased if he were honoured by a connection with the imperial house. They consulted as to whom they should consider the most preferable for this embassy; and the choice of all fell on William. He therefore set out, with certain others of the barons (to whom, with William, the business had been committed), to the Emperor Maximilian, and would have accomplished the work (although it was arduous and difficult), had not her father already betrothed the maiden Margaret to the prince of Spain. And that he should not appear to have done nothing, he so composed a quarrel of long standing between the inhabitants of Cologne* and our nation, by his prudent counsel and service, that no trace of the old discord has remained.

1493, June 26. — Concerning the Contention between the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow.

Acts of Parl. ii. 232.

[Innocent had in 1492 granted Glasgow archiepiscopal equality with St. Andrews. A quarrel arose between the rival prelates, which James tried to end by his private influence. This being unavailing, the following was enacted.]

Anent the contention and plea now depending in

* Probably some trade dispute; as with Bremen in 1445.

the Court of Rome betwixt the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, of the which pleas the expenses is unestimable damage to the realm, therefore it is thought expedient by the Lords of the Articles, that the king's highness cause write his letters to both the said prelates exhorting and praying them to leave their contentions, strifes (*litis*), and pleas contrary to others now moved and depending betwixt them in the Court of Rome. And for the cause and motion of their plea, our sovereign lord shall cause be seen and understood what is most profitable to be had and desired for the common good of the realm, and shall send his writing to our holy father the Pope conforming thereto, like as shall be seen expedient to the king and his estates spiritual and temporal, and command the party contrary to cease and not to labour against the thing that shall be seen profitable for the welfare and profit of the realm with certification to the said prelates, that if they will not cease and leave the said pleas in the Court of Rome, and be obedient to the 'devise' and deliberation of our sovereign lord and his three estates, his highness will command and charge his lieges within this realm that none of them raise money (*make fynance*), nor pay to them fermes, rents, nor fees (*mates*) to the sustentation of the said pleas and having of the money out of the realm. And in likewise certifying them, if any of them have done in times bygone contrary the acts and statutes of this realm and public good of the same, he will make the

doer thereof be noted, known, and punished, as is proper after the form of this realm.*

1494.—The Lollards of Kyle. The articles of which they are accused.

Knox. *Hist. of Reformation* (ed. Laing) i. pp. 6-12.

For albeit, that in the days of Kings James the Second and Third, we find small question of religion moved within this realm, yet in the time of king James the Fourth, in the sixth of his reign, which was in the year of God 1494, were summoned before the King and his great council by Robert Blackedar, called archbishop of Glasgow, the number of thirty persons, remaining some in Kyle-Stewart, some in Kings-Kyle, and some in Cunningham,† amongst whom, George Campbell of Cesnock, Adam Reid of Barskyming, John Campbell of New Mynes, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, Helen Chalmers lady Polkellie, Marion Chalmers lady Stairs: these were the Lollards of Kyle. They were accused of the articles following, as we have received them forth of the Register of Glasgow:—

1. That images are not to be had, nor yet to be worshipped.

* James, who was a canon of Glasgow Cathedral, ultimately gave his sympathies to St. Andrews, when, on the death of Schevez, his brother the Duke of Ross was elected. After the duke's death, the king's bastard son Alexander, pupil of Erasmus, became archbishop at the age of sixteen.

† Ayshire is divided into three portions, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham. Kyle, which is in the centre and lies between the Doon and the Irvine, is subdivided into Kyle-Stewart in the north and Kings-Kyle in the south.

2. That the relics of saints are not to be worshipped.

3. That laws and ordinances of men vary from time to time, and that by the Pôpe.

4. That it is not lawful to fight or to defend the faith.*

5. That Christ gave power to Peter only, and not to his successors, to bind and loose within the Kirk.

6. That Christ ordained no priests to consecrate.

7. That after the consecration in the Mass, there remains bread : and that there is not the natural body of Christ.

8. That tithes ought not to be given to ecclesiastical men.

9. That Christ at his coming has taken away power from kings to judge.

10. That every faithful man or woman is a priest.

11. That the unction of kings ceased at the coming of Christ.

12. That the Pope is not the successor of Peter, but where he said 'Go behind me, Satan.'

13. That the Pope deceives the people by his bulls and his indulgences.

14. That the Mass profiteth not the souls that are in purgatory.

15. That the Pope and the bishops deceive the people by their pardons.

16. That indulgences ought not to be granted to fight against the Saracens.

* Knox here adds the note -- 'We translate according to the barbarousness of their Latin and dictament.'

17. That the Pope exalts himself against God, and above God.

18. That the Pope cannot remit the pains of purgatory.

19. That the blessings of the bishops are of none value.

20. That the excommunication of the Kirk is not to be feared.

21. That in no case is it lawful to swear.

22. That priests might have wives, according to the constitution of the law.

23. That true Christians receive the body of Jesus Christ everyday.

24. That after matrimony be contracted, the Kirk may make no divorce.

25. That excommunication binds not.

26. That the Pope forgives not sins, but only God.

27. That faith should not be given to miracles.

28. That we should not pray to the glorious Virgin Mary, but to God only.

29. That we are no more bound to pray in the Kirk than in other places.

30. That we are not bound to believe all that the doctors of the Kirk have written.

31. That such as worship the Sacrament of the Kirk commit idolatry.

32. That the Pope is the head of the Kirk of Antichrist.

33. That the Pope and his ministers are murderers.

34. That they which are called principals in the Church are thieves and robbers.

* * * * *

Albeit that the accusation of the bishop and his accomplices was very grievous, yet God so assisted his servants, partly by inclining the king's heart to gentleness (for divers of them were his great familiars) and partly by giving bold and godly answers to their accusers, that the enemies in the end were frustrate of their purpose. For while the bishop in mocking said to Adam Reid of Barskyming, 'Reid, believe ye that God is in heaven?' he answered, 'Not as I do the sacraments seven.' Whereat the bishop thinking to have triumphed said, 'Sir, lo, he denies that God is in heaven.' Whereat the king wondering said, 'Adam Reid, what say ye?' The other answered, 'Please your grace to hear the end betwixt the churl and me.' And therewith he turned to the bishop and said, 'I neither think nor believe as thou thinkest that God is in heaven; but I am most assured that he is not only in the heaven, but also in the earth. But thou and thy faction declare by your works that either ye think there is no God at all, or else that he is so shut up in the heaven that he regards not what is done into the earth; for if thou firmly believed that God were in the heaven thou shouldst not make thyself checkmate to the king, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ the Son of God gave to his apostles, which was to preach his evangel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day. And now, Sir, (said he to the

king) judge ye whether the bishop or I believe best that God is in heaven.' While the bishop and his band could not well revenge themselves, and while many taunts were given them in their teeth, the king, willing to put an end to further reasoning, said to the said Adam Reid, 'Will thou burn thy bill?' He answered 'Sir, the bishop and ye will.' With these and the like scoffs the bishop and his band were so dashed out of countenance that the greatest part of the accusation was turned to laughter.

After that diet we find almost no question for matters of religion the space of nigh thirty years.

The State of the Scottish Church.

Mair. *De Gestis*, I. vi. [*Lat.*]

[This was published by Mair in 1518, and may be taken as a picture of the parochial system for some time preceding.]

The Scottish Church cannot be compared with that of England. The bishops ordain priests who are unskilled in music, and who should know at least the Gregorian chant.* Sometimes thirty villages far apart attend the same parish church, and thus a village is distant from the church four or five and sometimes ten miles. Nevertheless they have an opportunity of hearing service in the neighbouring chapels of the lords; for even the landowner of meanest degree keeps a chaplain, and the wealthier more according to their means and the size of their

* It seems not to have been so at Aberdeen, thanks to the care of Bishop Elphinstone. — See Boece's *Lives of the Bishops of Murthlac and Aberdeen*, p. 54.

household. Hence the livings in Scotland are few but very rich; and this wealth is not put to its proper use. It would be better to increase the number of the parishes and to curtail their revenues; and the bishops should give their attention to this matter.

Of Land Tenure.

Ibid.

Besides this, in Scotland the houses of the peasants are mere small thatched huts, and the cause is, that they do not hold their land in perpetuity, but only by rent on a lease of four or five years at the will of the lord; therefore though there are plenty stones they will not build neat houses, nor will they plant trees, or hedges to the wood, nor will they enrich the soil; and this is to the no small loss and disgrace of the whole realm. If the lords would give them their lands in perpetuity they would get double or triple the money they now have, because the peasants would cultivate the land incomparably better.*

1495, Feb. 10. Pope Alexander VI.'s Bull for confirming the Foundation of the University of Aberdeen.

Fasti Aberd. (Sp. Club) and Nat. MSS. Scot.

. . . Because in the northerly parts of the kingdom there are some places separated from the rest of the realm by arms of the sea and very steep mountains, in which regions dwell men who are uncultivated,

* Sentiments akin to these on tenure will be found in the contemporary English writing, entitled "Pleasant Poesie of Princely Practice."—*Early Eng. Text Society*, p. lxxxviii.

and ignorant of letters and almost wild, who on account of the too great distance from seats of learning and the dangers of travelling thither are not able to devote themselves to letters, nay, are so ignorant of them, that, not only for preaching the word of God to the people of these parts, but also for the ministration of the church ordinances, fit men are not to be found . . . and as King James eagerly desires that in the city of old Aberdeen and in the northern islands and mountains aforesaid, in which there is a healthy climate and abundance of the necessities of life and suitable dwellings, there be erected and established a university (*Studium Generale*) . . . wherefore the king . . . hath caused us to be humbly petitioned . . . that there be henceforth, to flourish in all time coming, a university of general study, as well in theology and canon and civil law, and medicine and the the liberal arts, as in every other lawful faculty, in which, as at Paris and Bologna and any other universities so privileged, all churchmen holding whatever ecclesiastical office, and laymen, masters and doctors, may teach, and at which those desirous to learn, whencesoever they may come, may study and profit. . . We therefore, &c.

1495, Nov. 20. Perkin Warbeck arrives in Scotland from Flanders.

Hall, p. 473.

When Perkin and his captains perceived that there was neither people, town, nor country in England that would associate with them in their fantastical frenzy

which nothing was mitigated, lest that by protracting of time and long space king Henry might fortify all dangerous places and passages with soldiers and men of war, which thing they heard say that he neither forgot nor 'forslowed,' and beside that he was not a little afraid that his long tarrying should appal and discomfort his privy friends within the realm of England,—wherefore he gathered together his ungracious company, and determined first to sail into Ireland, there to augment his number, and from thence, if it were possible, to sail into the west parts of England. **And** if there were any let or obstacle in that place, then he determined to sail straight into Scotland, knowing that seldom or never is perfect concord and amity between the Scots and the English nation. When this gentle council was dissolved and wind and weather served, he set up his sails, and having a prosperous gale after his fantasy sailed into Ireland, where he reposed himself a space. **And** remembering that the hope of victory consisted not whole in the Irish nation, which being naked men without harness or armour were not able to combat with the Englishmen, wherefore when the wind served him he departed from Cork and arrived in Scotland.

He is welcomed by James, and receives the lady Katharine Gordon in marriage.

Bernard Andre's Life of Henry VII., p. 70.

There he was received most courteously by the King of the Scots. Then the King being deceived, as many other most wise princes have been before,

because Perkin seemed to distrust the Scots, undertook, at his request, to arrange a marriage for him. He was wedded to the illustrious lady Katharine Gordon, sprung of honourable lineage and a blood relation of the king himself, and gifted with the most excellent character.

**A letter from Perkin Warbeck to the Lady
Katherine Gordon.**

Spanish Calendars (Bergenroth, i. pp. 78-9 [*Lat.*]).

[The following is an interesting specimen of a love-letter of the times, which shows in strong contrast with Henry VII.'s instructions to his ambassadors about the queen of Naples, and with the spirit of the Spanish State papers, amid which this copy was discovered.*]

Most noble lady, it is not without reason that all turn their eyes to you; that all admire, love, and obey you. For they see your two-fold virtues by which you are so much distinguished above all other mortals. Whilst on the one hand they admire your riches and immutable prosperity, which secure to you the nobility of your lineage and the loftiness of your rank, they are on the other hand struck by your rather divine than human beauty, and believe that you are not born in our days, but descended from heaven. †

All look at your face, so bright and serene that it gives splendour to the cloudy sky; all look at your

* For a full account of this interesting document, see Bergenroth's *Spanish Calendars*, i. pp. 78-9. The translation given here is that of Bergenroth.

† Katherine Gordon is said to have been exceedingly handsome,

eyes as brilliant as stars, which make all pain to be forgotten, and turn despair into delight ; all look at your neck, which outshines pearls ; all look at your fine forehead, your purple light of youth, your fair hair ; in one word, at the splendid perfection of your person ; and looking at, they cannot choose but admire you ; admiring, they cannot choose but love you ; loving, they cannot choose but obey you.

I shall, perhaps, be the happiest of all your admirers, and the happiest man on earth, since I have reason to hope you will think me worthy of your love. If I represent to my mind all your perfections, I am not only compelled to love, to adore, and to worship you, but love makes me your slave. Whether waking or sleeping, I cannot find rest or happiness except in your affection. All my hopes rest in you, and in you alone.

Most noble lady, my soul, look mercifully down upon me your slave, who has ever been devoted to you from the first hour he saw you. Love is not an earthly thing ; it is heaven born. Do not think it below yourself to obey love's dictates. Not only kings, but also gods and goddesses have bent the necks beneath its yoke.

I beseech you, most noble lady, to accept for ever one who in all things will cheerfully do your will as long as his days shall last. Farewell, my soul and my consolation. You, brightest ornament of Scotland, farewell, farewell.

1496, April.—Ferdinand and Isabella deceive James with the hopes of a Spanish alliance, and endeavour to break his connection with Perkin.

Ferd. and Isab. to De Pucbla, Span. Calend. I., p. 91.

[*Span.*]

[Ferdinand's attention to Scotland was not due to any desire on his part for an alliance or marriage, but simply to help the solution of the difficulties connected with Perkin Warbeck and with France. He flattered the Scots by sending an embassy ; and he persuaded James to abandon Perkin, under the promise of giving him a daughter in marriage. Ferdinand's next move was to suggest that Henry might give one of his daughters to the king of Scots. Henry at first refused because of the unmarriageable age of Margaret ; but he finally agreed to the proposal. The mysterious methods of Ferdinand and Isabella (who kept the English matrimonial treaty secret) made even Henry suspect that the marriage treaty between Prince Arthur and Katherine might also be mere political manœuvre.]

It is as true as God is truth that we have no other purpose in our negotiations with Scotland than to win over the King of Scots and to make him friends with the King of England, so that he may no longer show favour to *him of York*, or enter into an alliance with France. At all events we intend to put him off some time longer with vain hopes, in order that he may not begin war with England or join the King of France. Whatever negotiations we have with him are only for this purpose. The instructions which our ambassadors took with them were to procure peace or a long truce between Scotland and England.

We learnt from the doctor of Glasgow, who came to us at Tarazona as ambassador from the King of

Scots, that the King of Scots had some complaints to make against the King of France, and was therefore willing to enter into alliance with us. He wished to marry with [a daughter of] us. It seemed to us that this would be of great advantage to the King of England, in his difficulties in his kingdom ; and we certainly wish that when our daughter is married to his son his realms shall enjoy repose. . . . Our letters to our ambassadors in Scotland arrived there before they themselves, and fell into the hands of the King of Scots, who became suspicious that our embassy was sent at the instance of the King of England. That was the reason why our ambassadors in Scotland did not think it expedient to write much to you, or to receive many letters from you, for they wished to avoid the appearance of the negotiations being carried on from that quarter. But in the affairs between England and Scotland they never spoke or demanded or concluded anything, except in order to induce the King of Scots not to assist *him of Ireland*, and the King of Scots gave them his solemn promise that he would not help *him of Ireland* before the ambassadors had returned who were coming to us. With these conditions, and with the intention of asking our daughter in marriage, the ambassador has arrived in Spain, but we have not yet seen him. . . . We shall send back his ambassador without depriving him of the hope he entertains that the marriage will be arranged. But this affair could not remain any longer in suspense, if they were to see that we had disposed of our daughter ; because, if the

marriage between our daughter and the son of the king of England were publicly concluded, the King of Scots would change his mind, and, we are afraid, give no longer any credit to us with respect to the concerns of the King of England. . . . Although we have said that we have no daughter to give to the King of Scots, you must tell this to the King of England alone, and no other person must know it. We must not deprive the King of Scots of his hope of having our daughter. On the contrary, we must amuse him as long as possible. The King of England might, if he likes it, propose to the King of Scots a marriage with one of his daughters, and give her such a marriage portion as would content the King of Scots. We think that would be very desirable. Our ambassadors in Scotland and ourselves will lend all our assistance to bring about such an arrangement.*

1496. — Of the serving of summonses in the Lordship of the Isles.

Acta Domin. Concil., vii, fo 39.

[The following enactment is of importance in the history of James's policy in the Highlands and the Isles. It is one of the many proofs of his vigorous endeavour to introduce law and order in the north.]

The lords ordain that summonses be given to all manner of persons indwelling in the lordship of the

* On 25th July, 1498, Ayala writes to Ferdinand and Isabella expressing his doubts whether they have 'treated the affairs of Scotland with their wonted caution. The king of Scots firmly believes that he will marry one of their daughters. The refusal will probably offend him.' The English were anxious for the Anglo-Spanish marriage, but were jealous of Scotland being also

Isles to the 26th day of April next to come, if it be lawful, and failing thereof the next lawful day thereafter following, in the hour of cause, with continuation of days; and that every headsman of all clans receive the summonses of the party complaining, and make execution of the same, and bring them to the said 26th day of April duly served (*execute*); and failing thereof, that they answer to the party complaining upon the claim claimed by the party, as the principal party defender should, if he were present *in propria persona*.

1496, June 13.—The children of barons and freeholders to be sent to school and college.

Acts of Parl., ii., 238.

All barons and freeholders that are of substance put their eldest sons and heirs to the schools from the time they be eight or nine years of age; and to remain at the grammar schools till they be competently founded and have perfect Latin; and thereafter to remain three years at the schools of Art and Law (*Jure*), that they may have knowledge and understanding of the laws, through the which justice may reign universally through all the realm, so that they that are sheriffs or judges ordinary under the King's Highness may have knowledge to do justice, that the poor people should have no need to seek our Sovereign Lord's principal Auditors for each small injury. And what baron or freeholder of substance that holds not honoured with a Spanish princess. Henry however, 'as being more intelligent, and not a pure Englishman,' did not share this jealousy.

his son at the schools, as said is, having no lawful excuse (*essonze*), but fails herein, he shall pay to the King the sum of 20*l*.*

1493, Sept. 8.—Lord Bothwell informs Henry VII. of the preparations of James on behalf of Warbeck.

Bothwell to Henry VII., Ellis I., i. 25.

[Bothwell, after his pardon, played the part of spy to Henry. Buchan (who had been forgiven for his conduct at Stirling) seems to have had little to do with the traitorous indenture of Ramsay and Tod in 1491. They used his name to help their plot in Henry's eyes, and probably to get money from him.]

All this long time I have remained under respite and assurance within the realm of Scotland, and most in the court about the King gave attendance, and making labours to do your Grace the best service I can, and have full oft times solicited the King's Highness, and all the well-advised lords of this realm, to leave the favour and supports they give to this feigned boy, and stand in amity and good love and peace with your Highness. . . . I understand without doubt this instant 15th day of September, the King, with all the whole people of his realm he can make, will be at Ellem kirk, within ten miles of the Marches of England, and Perkin and his company with him, the which are now in number fourteen hundred of all manner of nations (*nacionis* ?); and

* John Major, who wrote about 20 years later, complains that 'the nobles do not educate their children in letters and good manners, which is no small danger to the State. They ought to seek out men learned in history and of good character to teach their sons.'—(*De Gestis Scotorum*, I., viii.)

without question has now concluded to enter within this your realm the 17th day of the same month, in the quarrel of the said feigned boy, notwithstanding it is against the minds of nearly the whole number of his barons and people, both for the danger that thereof might follow, and for the inconvenience of the occasion. Notwithstanding, this simple wilfulness cannot be removed out of the King's mind by no persuasion nor means. I trust verily that he will be punished, by your means, for the cruel consent of the murder of his father.

Sir, the second day of September the King sent for his lords that were nearest about him, and caused them to pass into the Council chamber, and thereafter called Perkin to them; and they laid many desires to him both anent the restoration of the seven sheriffdoms, the delivery of the castle and town of Berwick, and also for the listing of the King's army, and for charges made upon him and his company, to bind him to pay one hundred thousand marks within five years after his entry. To this asked he delay till the morn; and on the morn entered he into the Council . . . ; and after long communing has bound him to deliver Berwick, and to pay for the costs made on his behalf, fifty thousand marks in two years; and thus is this taken up in writing.

Also I passed to St. Andrews with the King, and there saw the receiving of the Lord Concessault;* and

* A French baron of Scottish extraction (Monypenny), who had been captain of the guard of honour given to Perkin Warbeck by France in 1493.

I did so much that I read his letter and credence . . . bearing in effect . . . that, because of the tenderness of blood, and also the tender amity he stands in with you both, he prayed the King that he might be an umpire between you to set you at concord. . . . And after this the King passed to Council and took the Lord Concessault, and shewed how it was moved on the party of England, and how he had lost so many ships, so great plundering of cattle on the Borders; and after this the Lord Concessault was but right soft in the solicitation of this peace, and, to mine appearance, made but little diligence herein, saying to myself, after I desired him to make diligence, it was no wonder that the King was stirred to unkindness. . . .

He exhorts Henry to attack Scotland.

Ibid.

King Edward had never fully the perfect love of his people till he had war with Scotland, and he made so good diligence and provision therein that to this hour he is loved; and your Grace may as well, and have as good a time as he had; for I take on me the King of Scots has not a hundred pounds; while now he has coined his chains, his plate, and his cupboards; and there was never people worse content of the King's governance than they are now. . . . There are many of his father's servants would see a remedy of the death of his father; yet please your Grace to send me word what service or other thing I shall do, for I shall be ready to do your Grace's commandment at my power. . . .

There is come out of Flanders Roderic de Lalane, with two little ships and three score Germans. I stood by when the King received him, in presence of Perkin; and thus he said in French, 'Sir, I am come here, according to my promise, to do your Highness service, and for none other man's sake am I come here; for if I had not had your letters of warrant, I had been arrested in Flanders and put to great trouble for Perkin's sake!' And he came not near Perkin; and then came Perkin to him; and he saluted him, and asked how his aunt did; and he said 'Well'; and he enquired if he had any letters from her to him; and he said he durst bring none, but he had to the King. And surely he has brought the King sundry pleasant things for the war, both for man and horse.

Sir, if your Grace have a good army on the sea, you might do a great act, for all the shipping and inhabitants of the haven towns pass with the King by land; and thus might all their navy be destroyed and haven towns burnt. . . .

I doubt not but these folks at their entry within four or five nights be so weary for watching and for lack of victuals, that they shall call on the King to return home; and thus returning they shall not be fought withal; that it would please your Grace, after their entry in England, that the folk of Northumberland and the bishopric retired to the head of Northumberland westward, and so come northward, not straight upon the Scots host, but sideways, while these were both alike north and south upon

them. And then I would these said folks fall upon their backs ; and before them to encounter them [there would be] the power of Yorkshire. And thus, if the others retired, or fled back, they might not escape, but be fought withal. For considering this long night, and the great baggage and carriages, twenty thousand men were as sufficient as one hundred thousand ; and these folks behind them would put them to a greater panic (*affray*) than twice as many before them. I have heard the disputations of my countrymen, and therefore I write this clause.

1496.—Henry sends warships to the Firth of Forth.

Boece. *Lives of Bishops of Murthlac and Aberdeen.*

James had no sooner received Perkin in his kingdom than Henry in public council expressly spurned the Scottish heralds, who had come to demand that he should desist from and make reparation for injuries, according to treaty. . . Henry perceiving that war was then a necessity—as appeared to his prudent mind—sent to the Forth sixty swift-sailing ships (*celoces*) and forty transports with many troops and every warlike provision, which should sail round the Scottish shores ; so that the Scots, eager to prevent the landing of the English forces, would not be able easily to march into England with the army they had collected. He remained at London with the nobles of the kingdom, being of opinion that this dangerous war should be carried on by prudence rather than by arms, and being not at all forgetful of the attitude of many of the English towards Edward.

1496.—The expedition of Perkin Warbeck.

Hall, p. 474. Polyd. Verg., xxvi., 597.

This Perkin, swelling with joy that he after his own phantasy had made the Scots to be his partakers, and to the intent that they should put no diffidence in the sequel of his enterprise, and to encourage them the more, he pronounced surely that he should have great succour and aid of his friends in England, sent even from the farthest part thereof, as soon as ever the trumpet of war was blown. The Scots, although they had but little confidence [in him], and less trust in his words . . . , armed themselves in all haste and marched towards the confines and borders of England. Albeit the Scottish King, minding not to be too rash, mistrusted that the Englishmen knowing Perkin to have arrived in Scotland had laid some army for the defence of the frontiers, sent out certain light horsemen to espy and search if the husbandmen of the country were assembled in armour to ward off their enemies. The horsemen ranging over the fields and plains belonging to their enemies and seeing all things quiet returned to their King, and certified him that now was the time most apt and convenient to invade the realm and set on the English nation. Then the Scottish King, marching toward England with all his puissance, first proclaimed openly that all such should only be pardoned that would take part and submit themselves to Richard, Duke of York, and fight in his cause and quarrel. And, to the intent to appal and daunt the hearts of the poor commons, so that for

very fear they should be enforced and compelled to submit themselves to this new found mammet, they made so cruel and deadly war, that not like men, whose nature is to be satisfied with the slaughter of men and to be merciful to the impotent and sick persons, burnt towns, spoiled houses, and killed men and children, and, allured with the sweetness of spoil and prey, wasted all the country of Northumberland ; and had gone forth farther, but that they perceived no aid or succour to come out of England to attend upon this new duke. And the soldiers, being fully laden with spoil, refused to go one foot farther at that time ; and the country rose on every part ; which made the King suspect some army to approach. Wherefore he determined rather to return with his assured gain than to tarry the nuncupative duke's unsure and uncertain victory ; and so he recoiled again into Scotland.

**How King James chid a foolish speech
made by Perkin.**

Ibid.

It is a world to remember in this place of a certain kind of ridiculous mercy and foolish compassion, by the which Perkin was so sore moved, that it seemed him to regard nothing more than the commodity of another man. For, while the Scottish King thus vexed and harried the poor inhabitants on the borders of Northumberland, this new invented duke, perceiving that no concourse nor resort of Englishmen showed themselves to minister to him aid or

succour, and fearing not a little that the box of his crafty dealing and bag of his secret counterfeiting should be elucidated and set in open glass,* cried out openly,—“O my stony and hard frozen heart,† which art not once moved nor yet afflicted with the loss and slaughter of so many of thine own natural subjects and vassals.” And at that glorious sighing he beseeched the Scottish King that from thenceforth he would not afflict and plague his people, nor deform and deface his natural realm and country with such fire, flame, and havoc,—as who would say that he, being overcome with the perfect love of his native region, began now to have compassion and to lament the cruel destruction of the same. The Scottish King answered him,—“Sir, methinketh you take much pain and very much imagine how to preserve the realm of another prince which is not yours; but my mind giveth me that you be far from obtaining the same . . ., considering that you call England your land and realm, and the inhabitants thereof your people and subjects, and yet not one man will once shew himself to aid or assist you in the war begun for your cause and in your name . . .” And so the King reproved the lightness of this young fond foundling, and every day more and more neglected and less fancied and gave credit to him, noting well and wisely that neither his words with his deeds, nor the sequel of facts with his promises were neither agreeable nor consonant.

* Et veritus ne ob id dolus eluceret.—*Polyd. Vergil.*

† O me ferreum.—*Ibid.*

1497.—Henry makes preparations for a campaign against Scotland.

Ibid.

The King of Scots, not slipping his matters, because he perceived well that the Englishmen would shortly revenge their loss and harm, with no less diligence gathered an host and puissant army, that either he might withstand and resist the English power invading his realm and country, or else afresh enter upon the Borders, and going forth, spoil, rob, and make havoc again. And so these two valiant princes minded nothing unless the one to hurt and prejudice the other. But the King of England, sore pricked and wounded with the injury to him committed, was so sore moved against the Scottish King that he would not procrastinate nor defer one hour till he were revenged. And so prepared a puissant and vigorous army to invade Scotland, and thereof ordained for chieftain Giles, Lord Daubeney.

When the Lord Daubeney had his army assembled together, and was in his journey forward into Scotland, he suddenly was stayed and revoked again, by reason of a new sedition* begun within the realm of England for the subsidy, which was granted at the last parliament for the defence of the Scots, with all diligence and celerity.

The advance of the Scots.

Hall, p. 480. P. Verg., xxvi., 602.

While this business was thus handled in England, the King of Scots, being certified of it by his spies

* The Cornish rising.

that there was no army raised in England either to withstand his power or destroy his country, and hearing also that King Henry and his nobles were vexed and sore troubled with the commotion of the Cornishmen, and in a civil discord and dissension amongst themselves, wherefore he thought it necessary to anticipate the war beforehand. For well he knew that, as soon as King Henry had subdued and overturned his adversaries, that he would with his whole puissance invade his realm and dominions, and therefore he invaded the frontiers of the realm of England, wasting the country, burning the towns, and murdering the people, sparing neither place nor person.*

1497, Aug.—They attack Norham Castle and retire.

Hall, p. 480. P Verg., xxvi, p. 602.

And while his light horsemen were riding to forage and destroy the bishopric of Durham, and there burned all about, he with another company went about to expugne and assault the castle of Norham, standing on the river of Tweed which divideth England and Scotland. . . . The bishop† from time to time advertised the King of all things that

* ‘James was doubtless offended at Perkin’s hasty and petulant abandonment of his own enterprise, and, though his high sense of honour forbade him to yield to pressing solicitations and bribes to surrender him, it is obvious that his preparations for the continuance of hostilities had no reference to Perkin’s interests.’—Dickson, *Treasurer’s Accounts*, I., cxlvii.

† Richard Fox, formerly Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.

there chanced (who then was at London), and sent in all post haste to the earl of Surrey to come to the rescue, who was then in Yorkshire and had collected a great army and warlike company. When the earl heard of these news, he, perceiving that all things were not void of jeopardy, made no long tarrying, but with all diligence marched forward.* . . . The number was little less than twenty thousand men, besides the navy, whereof the lord Brooke was admiral.

When the Scots had divers days assaulted and beaten the castle of Norham to the no little detriment and damage thereof, and could make no battery to enter into the same, they determined of their own mind to raise their siege and return, and that so much the sooner, because they heard say that the earl of Surrey was within two days' journey of them with great puissance. Wherefore King James thought it to small purpose to tarry any longer in besieging the castle, raised his siege, and returned into his own realm. When the earl knew of the King's return, he followed after with all haste possible, trusting surely to overtake him and to give him battle.

1497.—Surrey's campaign in Scotland.

Ibid.

When the earl had entered Scotland† he prostrated and defaced the castle of Coldstream, the tower of

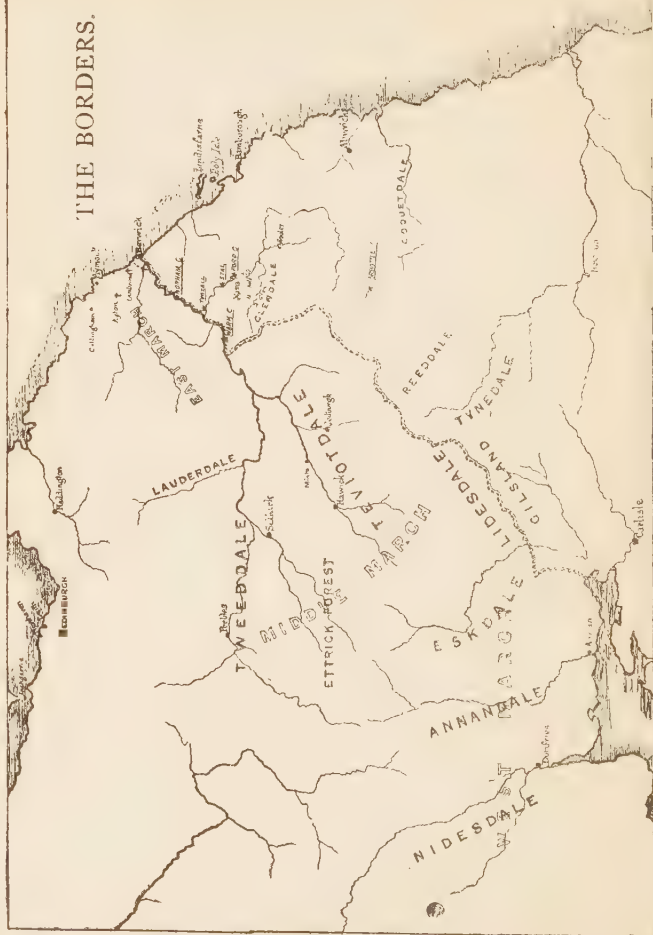
* Both Vergil and Hall give lists of the chief nobles and knights. All Hall's list is given by Vergil, and the latter mentions 25 others. Hall alone mentions the Admiral.

† The following details of Surrey's campaign are not found in Vergil.

Hetenhall, the tower of Edington, the tower of Foulden; and he sent Norroy king-at-arms to the captain of Ayton castle, which was one of the strongest places between Berwick and Edinburgh, to deliver him the castle, which he denied to do, affirming that he was sure of speedy succours and swift aid. The earl, perceiving the denial, laid his ordnance to the castle, and continually beat it from two of the clock till five at night, in such wise that they within rendered up the fortress, their lives only saved. And when the earl had received the Scots, he with his miners razed and overthrew the castle to the plain ground. The Scottish King was within a mile of the siege, and both knew it and saw the smoke, and yet would not once set a foot forward to save his castle. And, while the earl lay at Ayton, the King of Scots sent to him Marchmont and another herald, desiring him at his election either to fight with whole puissance against puissance, or else they two to fight, person to person, and hand to hand, requiring that, if the victory should fall to the Scottish King, that then the earl should deliver for his ransom the town of Berwick with the Fishgarths of the same. The earl joyously, like a courageous captain, received this message and made answer that he was ready in the plain field to abide the battle with his whole army, praying him to come forward with his puissance; and after that he thanked him heartily of the honour that he offered him; for surely he thought himself much honoured that so noble a prince would vouchsafe to admit so poor an earl to fight with him, body to body; ascer-

taining him further that the town of Berwick was the King his master's and not his, the which he neither ought nor would lay to pledge nor gage without the King's assent; but he would put his body in pledge, which was more precious to him than all the towns in the world, promising on his honour that, if he took the King prisoner in the singular combat, that he would release to him all his part of his fine and ransom, and, if it chanced the king to vanquish and apprehend him, he would pay gladly such a ransom as was meet and convenient for the degree of an earl. But the Scottish King, not regarding his offers nor performing his great cracks and boasts, being afraid to cope with the English nation, shamefully and suddenly fled in the night season with all his power and company. When the earl knew that the King was recoiled, and had been in Scotland six or seven days, being daily and nightly vexed with continual wind and unmeasurable rain, he could not cause his people to continue in that tempestuous and barren region, with good advice retreated again with his whole army to the town of Berwick, and there dispersed his army, every man into his country, tarrying there himself till he knew the pleasure of the King in furthering or protracting the wars with Scotland. But in the meantime one Pedro Ayala, a man of no less learning than prudent wit and pregnant policy, was sent ambassador from Ferdinand, King of Spain, unto the King of Scots, to move and entreat a peace and a unity to be had between him and the King of England.

THE BORDERS.



1497, 30th Sept.—The Peace of Aytoun.

Rymer, xii., p. 673.

[Henry was really anxious for peace after the troubles in Cornwall. In July 1497, he made overtures through Bishop Fox. The lengthy instructions will be found in *Gairdner*, I. p. 104.]

First, that between the Kings of England and Scotland, their heirs and successors, their vassals, lieges, subjects, now and to be, both ecclesiastic and lay of whatever rank, there be a good, real, sincere, true, and firm truce, and cessation of hostilities by land and sea, to begin at sunrise on the last day of the month of September 1497, and to extend for the next seven years, to the sunset on the last day of September of the said year.*

2. Neither of the said princes shall make war either by himself or by his subjects, nor shall he allow it to be waged by anyone whatsoever against the other of the said princes, his subjects or his lieges, nor shall he give aid, counsel or favour, or make or urge on war of any kind.

3. That ships, sailors, merchants, and other subjects of both of the said princes . . . be treated and received, as they were wont to be treated in time of other truces, before entered into and concluded between the Kings of Scotland and England, and especially according to the treaty made between Edward the Fourth, late King of England, and James the Third, late King of Scotland, on the 1st day of June, 1464.

4. That all and every malefactor and pillager be

**I.e.*, 1504.

punished after the manner and form following: that notorious and manifest homicides be kept in prison by the Wardens of the Marches for the space of twenty days immediately after the commission of the act of homicide . . . , and, if the friends of the murderer do not come to terms concerning the death of the deceased within that time . . . , then the prisoners shall be handed over to the will of the Wardens. If notorious thieves, robbers or other malefactors be taken in their thefts and other misdeeds, then they shall be handed over to the Wardens of the Marches where they have committed the offences, without further proceeding at law, whether in the kingdom where the crime was committed or in the other kingdom where they were arrested, without any delay whatsoever. And those who violate the present truce, shall be punished more severely than by those forms and laws under which they were wont to be punished of old.

5. If any of the subjects of the said princes shall have made any foray or attemptate within the March or country of either party, and after such depredation or attemptate he flee again to the March and country on that side of which he is a subject, it shall be lawful for him against whom the wrong has been done . . . , within six days from the committal of the offence, by the authority of the present ordinance and by other letters of safe-conduct, to pursue the malefactor, and for that purpose to enter in safety the Marches and country into which the malefactor has betaken himself, to go to any man of good fame

and unsullied character, who dwells within the March into which he has gone, to declare the cause of his entry . . . and to describe and specify what goods, cattle, or property he has lost by plunder, and to require of the same that he accompany him and, when requested, bear testimony as to the truth of his statements.

6. That if any traitors, rebels, murderers, thieves, notorious freebooters, or other malefactors, who, for any crime committed, or to be committed, have fled into any of the territories of the said princes, neither of the said princes . . . shall permit them to be received within their realms . . . ; but they shall hand them over or banish and expel them for ever, or shall order that they be handed over or banished and expelled effectually ; and that neither shall give counsel, aid, or favour in any way whatsoever to notorious rebels, enemies, and foes of either, to the hurt of the other or their realms. Letters of safe-conduct, granted by them or by either of them in the past, by virtue of the present articles shall by no means be evoked, but shall remain in full force and effect.

7. That the castle and town of Berwick . . . stand free from attack from the King of Scots and his subjects ; and that the King of England himself, or his subjects of the town of Berwick, abstain from war on the King of Scots or his lieges and vassals.

.

9. That those who flee England and become lieges of the King of Scots be bound on the

part of the Scots to the observance of this truce . ; and so for the Scots who become lieges of the King of England.

10. If any subject of either of the princes, who has suffered from foray or raid by a subject of the other, shall have made on account of his losses reprisals or distraint of persons or goods, on his own authority, he shall by his act lose his cause, and none the less will be punished according to the measure of his fault.

11. The lordship of Lorne in Scotland and that of the Isle of Lundy in England are not comprehended in the present truce.

12. That in the present truce the friends, confederates, and allies of either prince be comprehended, if it be their wish, and that they declare their minds within 6 months.

On the side of the King of England :—The Emperor ; the King of the Romans ; Charles, King of France ; the Kings of Spain, Portugal, and Naples ; the Dukes of Austria, Burgundy, Venice (Doge), Milan, Ferrara, and Savoy ; and the Hanse Towns.

On the side of the King of Scotland :—Charles, King of France ; John, King of Denmark ; the King of Spain ; the King of Naples ; the King of the Romans ; the Archduke of Austria and of Burgundy ; the Dukes of Gueldres, Milan, and Cleves.

[Then follow 4 clauses concerning the administration of the truce, &c.

The success of Henry's policy of peace with James is thus described in a contemporary poem, probably written in 1497,

entitled 'Les Douze Triomphes de Henry VIII.' James is likened to the fierce Cretan bull—a not unhappy simile for the impetuous warrior.

This noble King, what has he done ?
 Has he not struggled with this bull ?
 He has indeed, and the fact shows him to us
 A valiant man full of frankness.
 The King of Scotland by his skill
 He has subdued, and all his party.
 By his good sense he has so arranged
 That he does his will with him in part.

(See Gairdner's edition, *Rolls Ser.*)

This was written *before* the peace of 1502 and the marriage of 1503.]

1498, Feb.—Of the punishment of thieves and sornerers, and of the slaughter of wolves.

Acta Domin: Concilii. MS., Register House.

It is proclaimed that whoever brings a thief or a sorner* or a man at the King's horn to the sheriff, or slays an old wolf and brings his head to the sheriff, shall have of each five houses of the parish that the thief, sorner, or man at the King's horn is taken in, or that the old wolf is slain, a penny; and that the sheriff or bailie of the parish shall cause this duty be paid to the doer.

. . . When a thief, sorner, and man at the King's horn, or a wolf comes into any parish or town, that the neighbours of the said town and parish shall incontinent give the cry, and take the said trespasser or slay the said wolf; and if the said trespasser be of more power than the persons of the

* One who takes free quarters.

place where they come in, that, after the said cry be made, the whole parish and country about lying follow upon the said trespasser or wolf, and take them or slay them; and of him, who fails and comes not to the said cry in support of his neighbours and the country, that the lord or bailie that has that place in governance take of the said person failing, at the first time, a wether; the second time, a cow; the third time, his person to be taken and brought to the sheriff, and punished as the trespassers should have been punished themselves as a favourer and an assister to them.

The Character of King James IV.

Pedro de Ayala to Ferdinand and Isabella,
25 July, 1498.—*Span. Calend.*, i., No. 210.

The King is 25 years and some months old. He is of noble stature, neither tall nor short, and as handsome in complexion and shape as a man can be. His address is very agreeable. He speaks the following foreign languages: Latin, very well; French, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish; Spanish as well as the Marquis, but he pronounces it more distinctly. His own Scottish language is as different from English as Aragonese from Castilian. The King speaks, besides, the language of the savages who live in some parts of Scotland and on the islands. It is as different from Scottish as Biscayan is from Castilian. His knowledge of languages is wonderful. He is well read in the Bible and in some other devout books. He is a good historian. He has read many Latin and French histories, and has profited by

them, as he has a very good memory.* He never cuts his hair or his beard. It becomes him very well. He fears God and observes all the precepts of the Church. He does not eat meat on Wednesdays and Fridays. He would not ride on Sundays for any consideration, not even to mass. He says all his prayers. Before transacting any business he hears two masses. After mass he has a cantata sung, during which he sometimes despatches very urgent business. He gives alms liberally; but is a severe judge, especially in the case of murderers. He has a great predilection for priests, and receives advice from them, especially from the Friars Observant, with whom he confesses.†

* An interesting companion picture will be found in Erasmus's description of the merits of James's son, the Archbishop of St. Andrews. The father's love of letters and language, and his excellence in music, were continued in the son. "In summa nemo fuit dignior qui ex Rege, et ex illo Rege nasceretur," says Erasmus. He was quite a youth when he perished with his father at Flodden. (See pp. 74-5 and Appendix.)

† All the authorities make mention of James's love of the services of the Church and regard for the clergy. His natural tendency was strengthened by the circumstances under which he became King. He was ever haunted by the scene of his father's death; and he eased his conscience by continual penance. He wore an iron belt, which he made heavier each year; and he was frequently on pilgrimage to the sepulchre of St. Ninian at Whitehorn (Candida Casa), and to the church of St. Duthac at Tain. He intended to make a journey to the Holy Shrine at Jerusalem (see p. 104). A curious verification of his liberality to the Church will be found in the long Eleemosynary Lists in the Treasurer's Accounts. He gave much and often, and was nigh becoming—to use the words of his ancestor—"a sair Sanct for the Crown."

Rarely, even in joking, a word escapes him that is not the truth. He prides himself much upon it, and says it does not seem to him well for kings to swear their treaties as they do now. The oath of a king should be his royal word, as was the case in bygone days. He is neither prodigal nor avaricious, but liberal when occasion requires. He is courageous, even more so than a king should be. I am a good witness of it. I have seen him often undertake most dangerous things in the last wars. On such occasions he does not take the least care of himself. He is not a good captain, because he begins to fight before he has given his orders. He said to me that his subjects serve him with their persons and goods, in just and unjust quarrels, exactly as he likes, and that therefore he does not think it right to begin any warlike undertaking without being himself the first in danger. His deeds are as good as his words. For this reason and because he is a very humane prince, he is much loved. He is active, and works hard

When he is not at war he hunts in the mountains. I tell your Highnesses the truth when I say that God has worked a miracle in him, for I have never seen a man so temperate in eating and drinking out of Spain. Indeed, such a thing seems to be superhuman in these countries. He lends a willing ear to his counsellors, and decides nothing without asking them; but in great matters he acts according to his own judgment, and, in my opinion, he generally makes a right decision. I recognise him perfectly in the conclusion of the last peace, which was made against the wishes of the majority in his kingdom.

When he was a minor he was instigated by those who held the government to do some dishonourable things. They favoured his love intrigues with their relatives, in order to keep him in their subjection. As soon as he came of age, and understood his duties, he gave up these intrigues. When I arrived, he was keeping a lady with great state in a castle. . . Afterwards he sent her to the house of her father, who is a knight, and married her. He did the same with another lady, by whom he had had a son. It may be about a year since he gave up, so at least it is believed, his love-making, as well from fear of God, as from fear of scandal in this world, which is thought very much of here. I can say with truth that he esteems himself as much as though he were Lord of the world. He loves war so much that I fear, judging by the provocation he receives, the peace will not last long. War is profitable to him and to the country.*

Of the Royal Revenue.

Ibid.

I will give an account of his revenues. Although I do not know them to a certainty, I do not think that I shall be far wrong. I shall estimate them a little below their real amount.

He has a revenue from arable and pasture lands, which are let by leases of three years. The farmers

* Towards the close of this despatch, Ayala says he is afraid his description may seem partial, but that it has been his intention to tell the truth. 'James possesses great virtues, and few faults worth mentioning.'

pay a fine upon entry. This rent is said to amount to 50,000 pounds Scots, each pound Scots being worth one Castiliano. I rather believe that it amounts to 40,000 ducats.

Another revenue is that from the customs. The import duties are insignificant ; but the exports yield a considerable sum of money, because there are three principal articles of export, that is to say, wool, hides, and fish. The customs are worth about 25,000 ducats a year. They have much increased and will continue to increase. Another revenue is that derived from the administration of the law. His predecessors farmed it to certain persons called justices, like our *coregidores*. This King does not like to farm the administration of the law, because justice is not well administered in that way. It is said that this revenue amounts to more than 30,000 ducats ; but I will put it down at only 25,000 ducats.

He has other revenue from his wards, which is very considerable, and which offers good opportunities for rewarding his servants. . . . I am told that this is the richest source of revenue ; but I will estimate it at only 20,000 ducats.

He enjoys one year's revenue from the bishoprics and abbacies for the presentation. He likewise receives all the revenues of them during the vacancy of the see. The same is the case with respect to other livings, for they are all in his gift. I do not know to how much this amounts.

He has a rent from the fisheries, not in money, but in kind for his kitchen, and likewise from meat

and poultry He is in want of nothing, judging from the manner in which he lives, but he is not able to put money into his strong boxes.* . .

Of the Court.

Ibid.

The kings pass their time generally in castles and abbeys, where they find lodgings for all their officers. They do not remain long in one place. The reason thereof is two-fold. In the first place, they move often about in order to visit the kingdom, to administer justice, and to establish police where it is wanted. The second reason is, that they have rents in kind in every province, and they wish to consume them. While travelling, neither the King nor any of his officers have any expenses, nor do they carry provisions with them. They go from house to house, to lords, bishops and abbots, where they receive all that is necessary.

The Good Bishop Elphinstone.†

Boece. *Lives of Bishops of Murthlac and Aberdeen.*

He was held in such authority by James the Fourth that as often as he had any business to transact with his own subjects, or with foreigners, as often as he had to make a treaty with other kings, or to make

* Contrast Henry VII. 'He has no equal in respect of riches. If gold once enter his strong boxes, it never comes out again. He always pays in depreciated coin.' De Puebla, 26 Mar. 1499.

† Elphinstone was nominated Bishop of Aberdeen about 1483. He died in 1514.

peace with countries and communities, he always entrusted the matter to Bishop William ; James the Fourth did nothing, nor held counsel on anything, which had not been arranged or considered with the advice of William. William was therefore beloved and respected by the people, dear to the nobles, and acceptable to all. . He was most magnificent in his household ; he scarcely ever supped without the company of many magnates, and always sumptuously.* He himself was temperate in the midst of these pleasures, cheerful in countenance, delightful in conversation ; he was very happy in the intercourse with the learned, with musicians, and in honest amusements : all vulgarity he loathed. . Though over eighty-three years of age † he discussed with others important matters of state ; nor even up to that age was his intellect or any of his senses impaired. He was always endowed with an active memory, so that what he had learned he never lost. . . . Almost all that which had been committed to writing concerning the exploits of the Scots had perished by the devices of the English, when they laid waste our country while it was foully torn by civil strife. For the Scottish name was so hateful to them that they were always bent on destroying not only the people, but the great fame which they had gained by their glorious deeds. . . . He searched out from many sources the lives of the Saints . . .

* This statement is fully borne out by the many entries of spices and rich cloths in Halyburton's *Ledger* (p. 183).

† There is some difficulty with Boece's dates.

and collected them into one work, which was unknown for a longer time than it should have been.

The National Improvement.

Ayala to Ferdinand (as before).

The Scots are not industrious, and the people are poor. They spend all their time in wars, and when there is no war they fight with one another. It must however be observed that since the present King succeeded to the throne they do not dare to quarrel so much with one another as formerly, especially since he came of age. They have learnt by experience that he executes the law without respect to rich or poor. I am told that Scotland has improved so much during his reign that it is worth three times more now than formerly, on account of foreigners having come to the country and having taught them how to live. They have more meat, in great and small animals, than they want, and plenty of wool and hides.

Spaniards who live in Flanders tell me that the commerce of Scotland is much more considerable now than formerly, and that it is continually increasing. There is as great a difference between the Scotland of old time and the Scotland of to-day as there is between bad and good.

Of Commerce and Agriculture.

Ibid.

It is impossible to describe the immense quantity of fish. The old proverb says already ‘*piscinata Scotia*.’ Great quantities of salmon, herring, and a kind of dried fish, which they call stock fish (*sloque*

fix), are exported. The quantity is so great that it suffices for Italy, France, Flanders, and England.

Major. *De Gestis Scot.*, I. vi.

England exceeds Scotland somewhat in fertility,
 . . . but Scotland abounds much more in fishes.
 Every year an English fleet sails to the island beyond the Arctic Circle for fish,* and they buy from us salmon as well as other kinds.† In most parts of Scotland you can buy a large fresh salmon for two shillings (?), but in some places for one shilling; and a hundred little fish in good condition for a liard.‡

Ayala to Ferdinand (*as before*).

They have so many wild fruits which they eat that they do not know what to do with them. There are immense flocks of sheep, especially in the savage portions of Scotland. Hides are employed for many purposes. There are all kinds of garden fruits to be found which a cold country can produce. They are very good. . . . The corn is very good, but they do not produce as much as they might, because they do not cultivate the land. Their method is the following; they plough the land only once when it has grass on it, which is as high as a man; then they sow the corn, and cover it by means of a harrow, which makes the land even again. Nothing more is done until they cut the corn. I have seen the straw

* It is certainly Iceland that is meant. There are many notices of the traffic between Iceland and England, and it is notable that in the 15th and 16th centuries the Icelandic currency was a fish one.

† See Tytler, ii. 187 (ed. 1841).

‡ An old French copper coin, worth 3 deniers, or the eightieth part of a livre,

stand so high after harvest that it reached to my girdle. Some kind of corn is sown about the Feast of St. John, and is cut in August.

Of the Character of the People.

Ibid.

The people are handsome. They like foreigners so much that they dispute with one another as to who shall have and treat a foreigner in his house. They are vain and ostentatious by nature. They spend all they have to keep up appearances. They are as well dressed* as it is possible to be in such a country as that in which they live. They are courageous, strong, quick, and agile. They are envious to excess.

Law in the Highlands and the Isles.

Ibid.

The inhabitants of the islands are very warlike and agile. I saw them in the last war. They do not know what danger is. The present King keeps them in strict subjection. He is feared by the bad, and loved and revered by the good like a god. None of the former Kings have succeeded in bringing the people into such subjection as the present King. He went last summer to many of the islands, and presided at the courts of law. . . . The islands are half a league, one, two, three, or four leagues distant from the mainland. The inhabitants speak the language and have the habits of the Irish.

* The Scots that day, I assure you, were not behind, but far above, both in apparel and rich jewels and massive chains!' Hall (p. 498), speaking of the retinue at Lamberton Kirk, when Princess Margaret was there. See also Young's Account.

Of the men of the Highlands and the Isles.

Major. *De Gestis Scotorum*, I., viii.

One part of Scotland speaks after the manner of the Irish : the people of that part and of the Isles, we call the wild Scots. In clothing, manner of life, and customs they are less respectable than the other Scots, though not less warlike ; they are by nature much more prone to fighting, as well because they live more to the north, as because they are dwellers in mountains and forests. . . . One portion of these wild folks is rich in cattle, sheep, and horses, and so they, in the fear of losing their wealth, obey the law and the Crown better. The others, who live by the chase, seek their ease . . . obey more speedily their fierce and lazy chief in the doing of evil than in the working of good, and more often choose war than peace. The Kings of the Scots, for the most part, have scarcely been able to curb their violence. From the middle of the thigh to the foot they have no covering, and they clothe themselves with a cloak for an upper garment, and with a shirt dyed a saffron colour. They always carry a bow and arrows, a very broad sword, a small halbert, and under the belt a large dagger, with an edge on one side only, but very sharp. In time of war, they clothe their whole body with a shirt of mail made of iron rings, and in that they fight. The common people of the wild Scots cover their bodies with a linen garment manifoldly sewed and smeared with wax or pitch, and also with deerskins.

[Major, (VI., xiii., *De Gestis Scotorum*,) speaking of the clans



WESTERN ISLAND WARRIORS (AFTER ALBERT DÜRER).

(See Appendix).



Chattan and Cameron, says :—‘They pass their days merrily in idleness, living upon the goods of the poor.’ He also describes their dress in much the same terms as in the preceding passage.]

Of the Scottish Women, and of their houses.

Ayala to Ferdinand (*as before*).

The women are courteous in the extreme. I mention this because they are really honest, though very bold. They are absolute mistresses of their houses, and even of their husbands, in all things concerning the administration of their property, income as well as expenditure. They are very graceful and handsome women. They dress much better than here (England), and especially as regards the head-dress, which is, I think, the handsomest in the world.

The towns and villages are populous. The houses are good, all built of hewn stone, and provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys. All the furniture that is used in Italy, Spain, and France, is to be found in their dwellings. It has not been bought in modern times only, but inherited from preceding ages. . . . There is a good deal of French education in Scotland and many speak the French language. All the young gentlemen who have no property go to France, and are well received there ; and therefore the French are liked.

Of the Army.

Ibid.

They are very good soldiers. The King can assemble within thirty days 120,000 horse.* . . . Two or three times I have seen, not the whole army, but one-third of it assembled, and counted more than twelve thousand great and small tents. There is much emulation among them as to who shall be best equipped, and they are very ostentatious, and pride themselves very much in this respect. They have old and heavy artillery of iron. Besides this, they possess modern French guns of metal, which are very good. King Louis gave them to the father of the present King in payment of what was due to him as co-heir of his sister, the Queen of Scotland.

1498, July and August.—The difficulties on the Borders.

[The following are extracts from letters of the two rivals, Ayala and De Puebla. Both point to the strained relations on the Borders, and both exonerate James.]

Ayala to Ferdinand and Isabella, 25 July.

It has been a very difficult task to conclude the peace between Scotland and England, because the old enmity is so great. It is a wonder the peace is not already broken. The King of Scots has borne the injustice committed by the English only because the peace has been made by Spain. The English have committed new murders and robberies in Scotland, before satisfaction has been given for the former murders. The King of Scots has sent to England,

* Ayala is careful to say that he had not *seen* the *whole* army.

and declared, that, if satisfaction be not given without further delay, he will not consider himself any longer bound by the treaty of peace.

De Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella, 25 Aug.

The peace with Scotland is not yet broken ; it even seems to improve. The King of Scots 'has seen the ears of the wolf,' and is now endeavouring 'to make a bed of roses' for the King of England. Two or three months ago the English killed a great number of Scots, but King James would not permit the Scots to kill an equal number of English. He only wrote a letter to Henry, full of compliments and courtesy, as though he had been a son writing to his father. The King of England, in consequence of it, sent the bishop of Durham to make reparations.

1498.—Skirmish before Norham Castle.

Hall, p. 487. Polyd. Vergil, xxvi. p. 607.

[The following is a detailed account of the troubles referred to by the Spanish ambassadors.]

In this year a sudden chance, yea, a thing of no moment nor worthy to be regarded, had almost kindled again the old displeasure and grudge between King Henry and King James. Certain young men of the Scots came armed unto Norham Castle, and beheld it wondrous circumspectly, as though they had been desirous to know what was done there within ; but when the keepers of the castle could not perceive any hostility or damage towards him or his, and seeing them depart of their own accord, determined it not convenient to move any question to them, nor once to stir out. But, when they came again the

next day and viewed it likewise, the keepers of the said castle, suspecting some fraud to lurk in their looking, demanded of them what was their intent, and why they viewed and advised so the castle. The Scots answered them proudly with many disdainful words, insomuch that, after their blustering and blowing answers made, the Englishmen being moved therewithal replied to them with hard and manly strokes; and after many a sore blow given and taken on both parts, and divers Scots wounded and some slain, the Scots, oppressed with the multitude of the English people, fled as fast as their horses would carry them. When they came home and certified the King of the same, he was therewith sore moved and angry, and sware by sweet Saint Ninian that there was nothing to him more inconstant and unsteadfast than the observing of the league by the King of England, and sent word thereof to King Henry in all haste by Marchmont, his herald.

The King of England, who nothing more embraced and desired than quiet tranquillity and perfect love and amity with all princes being his neighbours and borderers, . . . made him answer that it was not done through his default, neither by his counsel nor knowledge, but rather by the temerarious folly of the keepers of the castle; requiring him for that cause not to think the league infringed; promising on the word of a king to enquire of the truth, and who were the malefactors; and, if the offence were found to be begun on the part of the keepers of the castle, he assured him that they should

for no meed nor favour escape pain and punishment. This answer, although it was more then reasonable, could not mitigate or assuage the Scots' anger and outrageousness. For the which cause Richard, Bishop of Durham, who was more heavy than all others because that this discord was renewed again between these two princes by occasion of castle keepers, he therefore thought it best first to assuage and cool the furious rage of the Scottish King, and wrote many letters to him, requiring him of peace and unity. The King, perceiving both the goodwill and constant gravity of the bishop, appeased his fury and answered gently to the bishop's letters by writing again to him, saying that, because he had many secret and privy things in his mind which he would communicate only with him touching the cause now in variance, he therefore required him to take pains to come into his country, trusting that he should think his labour well bestowed. The bishop was very glad and sent word to the King, his master, of King James' desire, who esteemed the request and cause both just and reasonable, and therefore willed him to accomplish the Scottish King's honest desire.

1499.—The interview at Melrose between James and the Bishop of Durham.

Ibid.

When he came into Scotland, he was received with all humanity that could be thought of by the King himself at an abbey called Melrose. And there, after that the King for a countenance had complained much of the cruelty and slaughter that was used

towards his men lately at Norham, he easily remitted the offence and pardoned it, and began secretly to commune without any witnesses or arbiters near hand with the bishop alone. And he first declared to him what old and just causes had moved him before this to seek alliance and amity with King Henry, which now he desired much more to have confirmed and corroborate for the farther maintenance of love and increase of friendship,—which thing he doubted not but should sort to a fortunate effect and good conclusion, if the King of England would vouchsafe to give to him in matrimony his first begotten daughter, the lady Margaret; upon which point he determined not long ago to send his ambassadors into England, which thing he would the sooner do if he knew the bishop's mind and intent ready to further his loving purpose. The bishop answered but few words, saying that when he was returned to the King his master he would do the best in the matter that lay in his power.

1498-9.—James's home policy after the Peace of Aytoun.

Boece. Lives of the Bishops.

[Boece has here very accurately summarised the home policy of King James after the first troubles of the reign.]

When this peace had been concluded, James, by the advice of Bishop William, . . . in the first place repressed the risings of the islemen and highlanders (for this people, unless hindered by the royal authority, are wont to be in continual insurrection); and thereafter he encouraged by admonition

and example the manners of civil life. He built large palaces at Stirling, Edinburgh, and Falkland, and decorated them with much costly furniture. Many followed the example of the King and regulated themselves by his fashion. He protected the people from injury by the nobles; and he kept the nobles in harmonious peace, partly by his moderation and liberality, and partly by the fear of punishment.

1500.—A Year of Plague.

Lives of Bishops of Dunkeld, p. 40.

In the year A.D. 1500, a most terrible plague ravaged the realm of Scotland, and, as the story went that the city of Dunkeld had at all time escaped noisome infection by the merit of its patron, Saint Columba, therefore the bishop* in honour of the same caused mass to be sung at his own expense at the high altar for a whole year, at the second bell for matins. And, because at the close of the year the city and a great part of the surrounding country was not infected by the plague, he made the office perpetual.

. As the epidemic spread apace, the Bishop observed how few parish churches there were †, and how accordingly there was a great crowding of burials, which was fraught with danger to the whole land. As his parish of Little Dunkeld was wide and spread abroad and sixteen miles long, he divided it into two parishes, Little Dunkeld and Caputh.
. The following tale is surprising, yet I

* George Brown.

† Cf. the statement of Major about the small number of parish churches.

have thought it should not be passed over. . He visited some of the tenants of the church lands, who were stricken with the plague, and saw to the ministration of the church rites. On the following day he caused a bone of the blessed Columba to be dipped in holy water, and he sent the water by his chancellor to the sick folks to drink. Many partook and were made whole. One fellow wantonly replied to the chancellor, "Why does the bishop send us water to drink? I would rather he had sent me some of his best ale." But he and the others who would not have the water of Saint Columba perished by the plague, to the number of thirty persons; and they were buried in one grave below the ordinary cemetery.

[In the year 1505 we find the Preceptor of St. Anthony's writing to the General of the Order, that the plague has carried off all the brethren except the writer and another, that their property has fallen into disorder, and that they cannot be present at the general Chapter.—(Gairdner : *Letters of Richard III.* &c. ii, 199.)]

1500.—The Course of Study at the University.

Munimenta Univ. Glasg. II., p. 25.

We appoint and decree certain books—ordinary and extraordinary—for the purposes of study and examination. The ordinary books are these. In the first place, in the Old Logic (*in vetri arte*), the book of Universals of Porphyrius; the Prædicamenta* of Aristotle; two books of the same author *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας*† :

* *κατηγορίαι* (Prædicamenta). Of generic ideas.

† *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* (De Elocutione oratoria). Of expression of thought by speech.

in the New Logic, two books of the Prior Analytics ; * two of the Posterior† ; four at least of the Topics,‡ namely the first, second, sixth, and eighth ; and two of the book on Fallacies.§ In Philosophy, eight books of the Physics ; three concerning the Heaven§ and the Universe ; ¶ two on Generation and Corruption ; three books on the Soul ; on Sense and the Sensible, on Memory and Recollection, on Sleep and Waking ; and seven books of the Metaphysics.

The following extraordinary books are to be taken in their entirety, or in part when the Faculty shall so dispense. . . . In Logic, the text of Peter Hispanus with the Categories ; the treatise on Distribution ; and the book of the six principles. . . . In Philosophy, three books of meteorology ; the treatise on the sphere in full ; six books of the Ethics, if they be chosen ; perspective, arithmetic (*algorismus*), and the principles of geometry, if they be chosen. That the zeal of the youths may go on from good to better, even to the highest end, we decree and ordain that the old art be read for six weeks, the Prior Analytics for three, the Posterior for three, and that the Topics and Fallacies be read daily during the same time. . . .

* Αναλυτικά πρότερα (Analytica Priora). Of the theory of conclusions.

† Αναλυτικά ὑστερα (Analytica Posteriora). Of demonstrable knowledge (Bk. I.) ; and of the application of conclusions to proof (Bk. II.)

‡ Τοπικά (Topica). Of Dialectics.

§ περὶ σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων (Elencha). Of Fallacies.

§ περὶ οὐρανοῦ (De Cælo).

¶ περὶ κόσμου (De Mundo)

The Faculty leaves the extraordinary books to the discretion of the students.

The education of the King's son, Alexander Stewart.

Erasmus, *Adagia* 1634, (Ed. 1599.)

[The following is an extract from the interesting description by Erasmus of King James and his son, the young Archbishop of St. Andrews. Besides being of value as an account of the best liberal education of the time, it will, with our further knowledge of King James, testify to the cultured character of the inner circle of the Scottish court. The extract, to be in strict chronological position, should be entered about ten years later, but it goes suitably with the preceding.]

I once lived with the King's son in the city of Sens, and I there taught him Rhetoric and Greek. Heavens! how quick, how attentive, how eager he was; how many things could he undertake together! At that time he studied law—a subject not very pleasing, because of its barbarous admixture and the insufferable verbosity of its expounders. He attended lectures on Rhetoric, and followed out a prescribed theme, using alike his pen and his tongue. He learned Greek, and each day construed his stated task in a given time. He gave his afternoons to music, to the monochord,* flute, or lute; and he sometimes sang while playing on a stringed instrument. Even at mealtime he was not forgetful of his studies. The chaplain (*sacristanus*) always read some good book, such as the Pontifical Decrees, St. Jerome, or St. Ambrose; nor was the reader interrupted, except when some of the doctors among whom he

* See Gawin Douglas's *Palice of Honour*, i. 20 (ed. Small.)

sat suggested aught, or when he made inquiry about something which he did not clearly understand. On the other hand, he liked tales, when they were brief, and when they treated of literary matters. Hence no portion of his life was spent without study, except the hours given to religion and to sleep. If he had any spare time . . . he spent it in reading history, for in that he took extreme delight. Thus it was that, though he was a youth scarcely eighteen years old, he excelled as much in every kind of learning as in all those qualities which we admire in a man.*

1501. Nov.—Debate in the English Council about the betrothal of Margaret to King James.

Polydore Vergil, xxvi., p. 607, 46.

Nor had many days passed by before James sent an embassy to seek the King's daughter Margaret in marriage. Henry gave the ambassadors audience, and then laid the matter before his Council. Some were afraid that at a future date it might come about that the inheritance of the kingdom might fall to Margaret, and therefore they judged it wise not to give her in marriage to a foreign prince. But the King's answer to this was 'What then? If this happen, which God forbid, I foresee that our realm will suffer no harm, since it will not be the addition of England to Scotland, but rather of Scotland to England as the

* Erasmus, in his lament over the Archbishop's death at Flodden, exclaims—"What hadst thou to do with Mars, of all the gods of the poets the most infatuate, thou, who wert the disciple of the Muses and of Christ?"

most renowned part of the whole island, since it is always the less which is joined for glory and honour to that which is greater, just as in days gone by Normandy came under the rule of our English ancestors.' The wisdom of the King was praised, and by a unanimous voice they plighted the maid Margaret to King James.

1501. Nov. 24.—The Scottish Ambassadors in London.

MS. Cott. Vitell. A. xvi; Laing's Dunbar, I. 73.

Upon Saturday following, about one of the clock, came the ambassadors of Scotland in at Bishopsgate, and so rode through Cornhill and Cheapside, and so conveyed with lords and many well apparelled gentlemen unto Saint John's without Smithfield, and there lodged within the place of the Lord of Saint John's.

And upon the Monday following was a goodly joust holden, in the palace of Westminster, whereat were present the said Scottish ambassadors; the which day the Lord Marquess [of Dorset] . . . won the prize, albeit that the Duke [of Buckingham] that day bore him full valiantly, and brake many spears; but the Marquess brake the more.

And during these jousts divers nights were kept in Westminster Hall noble and costly banquets, with most goodly disguisings, to the great consolation of the beholders . . .

In the Christmas week, the Mayor had to dinner the ambassadors of Scotland, whom accompanied my Lord Chancellor, and other Lords of this realm; where, sitting at dinner, one of the said Scots giving

attendance upon a Bishop Ambassador, the which was reported to be a Protonotary of Scotland* and servant of the said Bishop, made this ballad following :

London, thou art of townës A per se,
 Sovereign of cities, seemliest in sight,
 Of high renown, riches, and royalty;
 Of lords, barons, and many goodly knight;
 Of most delectable lusty ladies bright;
 Of famous prelates, in habits clerical;
 Of merchants full of substance and might;
 London, thou art the flower of Cities all.

.

Above all rivers thy river hath renown,
 Whose beryl streamis pleasant and preclare
 Under thy lusty wallis runneth down;
 Where many a swan doth swim with wingis fair;
 Where many a barge doth sail, and row with are;†
 Where many a ship doth rest with top-royal.
 O ! town of towns, patron‡ without compare:
 London, thou art the flower of Cities all.

Upon thy lusty bridge of pillars white
 Been merchantis full royal to behold;
 Upon thy streets goeth many a seemly knight
 [All clad] in velvet gowns and chains of gold.
 By Julius Caesar thy Tower founded of old
 May be the house of Mars victorial,
 Whose artillery with tongue may not be told:
 London, thou art the flower of Cities all.

* The reference is to William Dunbar. It was Forman, however who was the Protonotary.

† Oar. ‡ Pattern.

Thy famous Mayor,* by princely governance,
 With sword of justice, he ruleth prudently.
 No lord of Paris, Venice, or Florence,
 In dignity or honour goeth to him nigh;
 He is exemplar, loadëstar, and guye,†
 Principal patron and rose original,
 Above all mayors as master most worthy.
 London, thou art the flower of Cities all.‡

. . . The 25th day of January, being Saint Paul's Day, was declared at Paul's by the mouth of the preacher the assurance of the King of Scots and of Dame Margaret, daughter to our Sovereign Lord, King Henry the VII.; in joying whereof *Tè Deum* was there solemnly sung. And in the afternoon following, in divers places of the city, were made great fires to the number of ten or twelve. And at every fire a hogshead of wine was placed, which in time of the fires burning was drunk by such as would; the which wine was not long in drinking.

[The commission for contracting the marriage was dated at Stirling, 8th October. The contract was signed at Richmond on 24th Jan., 1502; and on the following day the betrothal was declared at St. Paul's Cross. Dunbar received from Henry VII. during these festivities £6. 13. 14 on 31st Dec. 1501, and a like sum eight days later.]

1502.—The policy of the Scottish Marriage.

Hall, p. 493. Polyd. Vergil, xxvi, p. 610.

It is to be considered that King Henry did not

* Sir John Shaw, who was knighted on the field by Henry VII.

† Guide.

‡ Dunbar's *Poems* (Scottish Text Society), p. 276.

join this affinity with the King of Scots without cause. For he, desiring nothing more than to pass over the remnant of his life in peace, rest, and tranquillity, imagined in himself that by this conjunction and complement of matrimony no war or hostility hereafter should be attempted either against him or his dominions by the Scottish King or his nation, having sure trust that none other of his enemies or of his rebels should hereafter be received or maintained in the dominions and territories of his son-in-law. And amongst all other articles this was concluded and appointed, that no Englishman should enter into Scotland, without letters commendatory of their own sovereign lord or safe conduct of his Warden of the Marches ; and that prohibition was in like manner given to the Scots.

1502, Jan. 23.—Letter of Andrew Halyburton, Conservator of the Scots Privileges in the Netherlands.

Halyburton's *Ledger*, ed. Innes, Pref. p. xxi.

[The following is quoted as an interesting specimen of a merchant's letter of the day. Some extra notes will be found in the Appendix.]

Right worshipful sir,—I commend me to you with all my heart. You shall receive, God willing, forth of Gilbert Edmestoun's ship, a butt of Malmsey, marked with your mark ; cost at the first buying 5l. 12s. Item, for crane dues, hire of track boat, and labourer's fee, 12d. ; sum of this wine with the costs, 5l. 13s. Item, shall you receive forth of the same ship, God willing, a 'roundale,' in the first,

2 pieces (*steikis*) of Rissilles* cloth, one brown and one black, of the great seal; cost 17l. Item, a 'steik' of Rouen 'tanny,' † which was bartered with a sack of wool of yours; cost 5s. each ell, holding $31\frac{1}{2}$ ells, $\frac{1}{2}$ an ell to bate; sum of that 'steik' is 7l. 15s. Item,



OBERSE.



REVERSE.

LION OF ST. ANDREW OR SCOTTISH CROWN (*Gold*).

2 couple of fustian; cost 2l. 2d. Item, 2 breadths of buckram, one better and one slighter; cost 2l. 12s. Item, 2 'steiks' of lawn; one cost 36s., the other 21s.; sum of the 2 steiks, 2l. 16s. Item, half a pound of fine gold; cost 19s. Item, 161 ells of canvas; cost 24s. the 100; sum of the canvass 37s. 2d. Sum of all the goods in this 'roundale' at the first buying is 35l. 4d. Item, for the 'roundale,' nails and packing, 26d. Item, for toll in Berry, 8d.; for the labourer's fee and track boat hire to the Vere, ‡ 7d.; sum of the 'roundale' with the costs is 35l. 3s. 9d. Sum of the goods you have in this ship with the butt of Malmsey is 40l. 16s. 9d. Item, there stand yet 2 sacks of wool

* Cloth of Lille. Dutch Rÿssel.

† Cloth of a tawny colour.

‡ Campvere (now Veere), 4 miles from Middleburgh, Netherlands.

of yours unsold; and when they are sold I shall send you your reckoning of all things betwixt us. And any other that you have ado in this country, I am at your command. And further please you to wit that here is an evil market, so help me God, except your wool, the best wool that I sold. . . . I could not get 21 marks for it. Yours have I sold, one sack for 22 marks, one other for 23 marks. Hides I trow shall be the best merchandise that comes here at Easter (*Pasche*), for there are many folks that enquire about them. It were but a sport to you to come over this summer time in this country, and make you blithe, and let us talk of past years, and thereafter make your jubilee; and then you may pass home at Whitsunday. And our Lord Jesu be your keeper in soul and body. Written at Middleburgh, the 23 day of January, 1502.

Yours at power,

ANDREW HALYBURTON.

1502, Jan. 24.—The Peace between Scotland and England.

Rymer, xii. p. 793.

[The following are the clauses of the 'Indenture for Peace and Friendship' between James and Henry. The legal phraseology of the text, which fills eleven columns in Rymer, has been curtailed. The document is interesting as being the first record of pacification between England and Scotland for one hundred and seventy years.]

1. That between the Kings of Scotland and England, their heirs and successors, their kingdoms and subjects of every degree there be a good, real

sincere, true, sound, and firm peace, friendship, league, and confederation, to last to all time coming.

2. That neither of the said Kings nor their successors shall make war or cause war to be made against the other and his heirs, nor give aid, either openly or secretly, for the urging on of war.

3. That neither of the said Kings shall receive, or allow to be received, any rebel, traitor, etc.; and, if any rebels shall have fled into the other territory, the prince of the same shall neither give nor cause to be given any aid or favour, but shall imprison them, and within twenty days shall hand them over, if requested to do so.

4. That all letters of safe-conduct given by either prince, in whatever manner, be recalled and cancelled; nor shall they be renewed unless expressly demanded by the other prince, and then for one year only.

5. That if any prince, of whatever dignity, attack the realm of one of the aforesaid princes, that prince whose realm has not been attacked shall assist the other with such forces as are requested, and with all speed, and shall be paid for the same by the other prince; nor shall any former treaty be allowed as an obstacle to this arrangement.

6. That the town of Berwick shall remain unmolested by the King of Scots and his subjects; and that the King of England's subjects of Berwick shall not attack the King of Scots or his vassals.

8. That the following allies be included. On the side of England:—The King of the Romans,

Louis, King of France, the Kings of Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, the Archduke of Austria, the Doge of Venice, the Dukes of Ferrara and Savoy, and the Hanse Towns.

On the side of Scotland:—Louis, King of France, John, King of Denmark, the King of Spain, the King of the Romans, the Archduke of Austria, the Dukes of Gueldres, Alsace, and Cleves, and the Marquis of Brandenburg.

Either king may give aid to his ally, but not by an invasion of the other's territories.

9. That if anything contrary to this peace be done by the subjects of either, the peace shall not on that account be considered to be annulled; and if either prince, yet holding by the treaty, neglect to make redress within six months for the wrong done, the other may grant letters of reprisal, according to the extent of the wrong.

10. That the death of James, King of Scots, or of the Princess Margaret before their marriage shall not invalidate the present treaty of peace, unless either of the Kings or their successors shall within two months signify his withdrawal from the treaty. But even, in such a contingency, the truce of 20th July 1499 shall be in force during the life of the survivor.

11. That the successors in either kingdom shall within six months ratify the treaty.

12. That the said princes shall within three months of the marriage of King James and the Princess Margaret swear to observe the treaty.

13. That the treaty be sealed and ratified by either prince before Christmas, 1502; and that letters of confirmation be exchanged by the said princes.

14. That the sanction of the Pope be obtained before July 1st, 1503; and that he who breaks the treaty of peace be excommunicated.

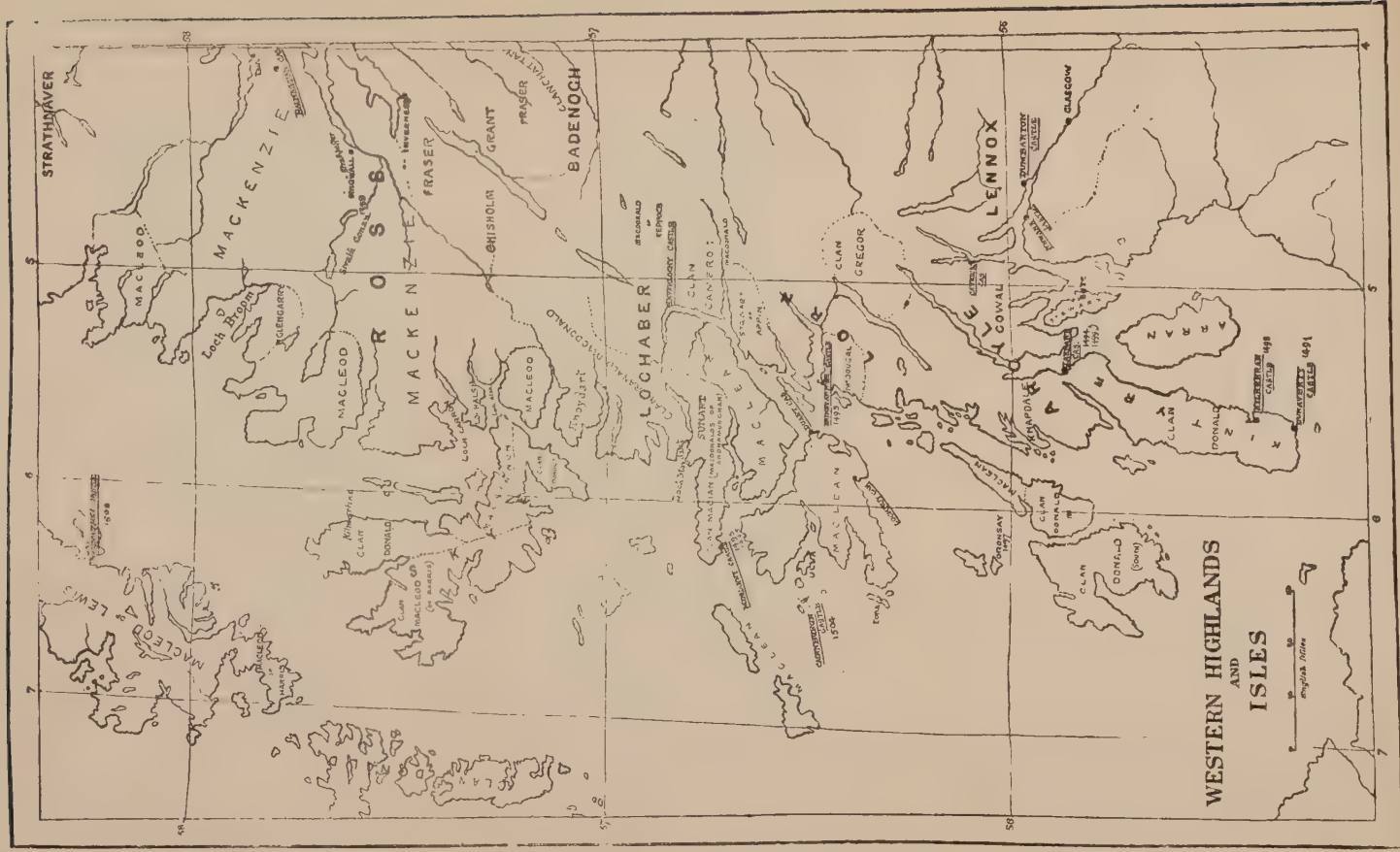
15. That within three months after the conclusion of this treaty the contents be published in the chief towns, and in the Marches of both kingdoms.

[James's oath was given on the 22nd day of February, 1502. (Rymer, XII., p. 804.)]

1503, March 15. - Of the jurisdiction of the Scots Conservator.

Acts of Parl., ii., 244.

It is statute and ordained for the weal of merchants and for the great exorbitant expenses made by them upon pleas in the parts beyond sea, that therefore the Conservator of this realm have jurisdiction to do justice among the said merchants. . . . And the said Conservator shall not proceed upon any matters among the said merchants, but if there sit six of the best and honest merchants of most knowledge of the realm, that shall sit and have power with him, if so many can be gotten; and if there be not to the number of six, that there sit four merchants with him at the least, that shall have such like power with him to minister justice. . . . The Conservator of Scotland shall come yearly home, or send a responsible procurator for him yearly, who shall answer to every man upon all things that they have to say to him on any matters; and he shall make certification to the King and his Council of the sending of the said procurator.



1503, March 20.—The administration of Justice in the Isles.

Acts of Parl. II. p. 249.

Because there has been great abuse of justice in the north parts and west parts of the realm, such as the North Isles and South Isles, for lack and fault of Justice Ayres,* justices, and sheriffs, through which the people are almost gone wild, it is therefore made, statute, and ordained for the quieting of the people by justice that there be in time to come justices and sheriffs deputed in these parts as after follows,—that is to say, that the justices and sheriffs of the North Isles have their seat and place for administration of justice in Inverness or Dingwall, as the matters occur to be decerned by the said officers; and that another justice and sheriff be made and deputed for the South Isles and those parts and have his place and seat for administration of justice in Tarbet or at Loch Kinkoran, at the will and pleasure of the said officers, as the matters occur.

[Then follow ordinances for the establishment of Justice Ayres in Argyle, the sheriffdoms of Ross and Caithness and other parts, where ‘great enormity and trespasses have grown in default of officers.’]

1503. March 20.—The Daily Council.†

Acts of Parl. II. p. 249.

It is advised, statute, and concluded in this

* Eng. ‘Eyre.’

† Attempts had been made to establish a court of supreme civil jurisdiction in 1425 and 1457. The Senators of the College of Justice, which was founded in 1532, held the title of Lords of *Council* and *Session*.

present Parliament, because there has been great confusion of summonses at each session, so that leisure nor space at a time of the year might not have been had for the ending of them, and thus poor folk have been delayed and deferred from year to year, through the which they wanted justice,—therefore, for eschewing of the said confusion, that there be a Council chosen by the King's Highness, which shall sit continually in Edinburgh, or where the King makes residence, or where it pleases him, to decide all manner of summonses in civil matters, complaints and causes, daily, as they shall happen to occur; and shall have the same power as the Lords of Session. And when they shall begin, and in what place, shall be notified to the people by open proclamation at the King's pleasure.

1503, Aug.—The journey of the Princess Margaret to Scotland.

Young. *Leland*, IV., 284.

[Margaret was married on 25th Jan., 1502, to James's proxy, the Earl of Bothwell. Henry left his manor of Richmond for Coliweston on June 27, 1503, where he granted permission for his daughter's journey to the north in charge of the Earl of Surrey. The bishop of Moray was in the train, which numbered between five and six hundred persons, well horsed and appointed. The itinerary was by Grantham, Newark, Doncaster, Pomfret, Tadcaster, York, Newborough, Allerton, Hexham, Durham, Newcastle, Morpeth, Alnwick, Belford, and Berwick, where she arrived on the 30th of July; thence by Lamberton Kirk, Fast Castle, Dunbar, Haddington, and Dalkeith to Edinburgh.]

The 3rd day of the month (Aug.) the Queen departed from the abbey [near Haddington], where she and

her company had great cheer, and in fair array and order passed through the said town of Haddington, where she was seen of the people in great mirth. And from that she passed to her lodging to Dalkeith.

Half a mile nigh to the said town she appointed herself richly, and her ladies and lords and others of her company did the same ; and in fair order entered the castle, where came before her without the gate the lord of the said place, called the Count of Morton, honestly appointed, and accompanied by many gentlemen in presenting her the keys of the said castle. And she was welcomed as lady and mistress, . . .

After that she was come and well appointed, and also her lords, ladies, knights, gentlemen and gentlewomen, the King came arrayed in a jacket of crimson velvet, bordered with cloth of gold, his lewre* behind his back, his beard something long,† accompanied by the right reverend father in God, my lord the Archbishop of St. Andrews, brother of the said King, and Chancellor of Scotland, and others, to the number of sixty horses.‡

* ‘ Apparently a kind of hood.’ – Pinkerton, II. 433.

† ‘ The meaning is, he had neglected to shave, or to cut it close with seissors, as, in the same account, was done on his wedding day.’ – Pinkerton, II, p. 3, n.

‡ Margaret’s mother, Elizabeth of York, died on Feb. 11, 1503. Yet we find Henry writing from Richmond to Sir Henry Vernon, Knight of the Body, on May 6: ‘ Inasmuch as it is thought unto us and our Council inconvenient and not meet that any mourning or sorrowful clothings should be worn or used at such noble triumphs of marriage, we therefore will and desire

The meeting of James and Margaret.

Ibid.

The King was conveyed to the Queen's chamber, where she met him at her great chamber door, right honourably accompanied. At the meeting he and she made great reverences the one to the other, his head being bare; and they kissed together, and in like wise kissed the ladies, and others also. And he in especial welcomed the earl of Surrey very heartily.

Then the Queen and he went aside and communed together by long space. She held good manner, and he bareheaded during the time; and many courtesies passed. Incontinent was the board set and served. They washed their hands in humble reverences; and after set them down together, where many good devices were rehearsed.

After the supper they washed again, with the reverences; minstrels began to blow, whereupon danced the Queen, accompanied of my lady of Surrey. This done, the King took leave of her, for it was late; and he went to his bed at Edinburgh, very well content of so fair meeting, and that he had found the fair company together. . . .

Next day at four of the clock, after dinner, the archbishops of York and of Glasgow and others went to meet the King, . . . but the King, flying as the bird seeks her prey, took another way, and came privily to the said castle, and entered within the

you to attend upon our said daughter in your best array, as in such case it appertaineth."—*Rutland MSS. (Histor. MSS. Commiss. 12th Report. App. Part IV. Vol. I. 1888.)*

chamber with a small company, where he found the Queen playing at cards . . . In communing together, came the same lords ; to whom the King did reverence . After some words rehearsed betwixt them, the minstrels began to play a bass dance, the which was danced by the said Queen and the Countess of Surrey. . Incontinent the King began before her to play on the claricords, and after on the lute, which pleased her very much, and she had great pleasure to hear him. . . . The King took leave of her and went to his horse, on whom he did leap without putting the foot within the stirrup. And the said horse was a right fair courser ; and incontinent the King spurred, follow who might.

7 August.—The entry into Edinburgh.

Ibid.

At the entering of the town was made a gate of wood, painted, with two towers and a window in the midst. In the which towers were at the windows revested angels singing joyously for the coming of so noble a lady ; and at the said middle window was in like wise an angel presenting the keys to the Queen.

Within the town, nigh to the said gate, came in procession the College of the parish of St. Giles, richly revested, with the arm of that saint, the which was presented to the King for to kiss ; whereof he did as before*, and began to sing *Tu Deum Laudamus*.

In the midst of the town was a cross, new painted, and, nigh to that same, a fountain casting forth of wine ; and each one drank that would. ✓

* *I.e.* He would not kiss the relic before the Queen had done so.

Nigh to that cross was a scaffold made, where were represented Paris and the Three Goddesses, with Mercury, that gave him the apple of gold to give to the most fair of the three, which he gave to Venus. In the scaffold was also represented the salutation of Gabriel to the Virgin. . . Further over newly made was another gate, upon which were seated the four Virtues, to wit,—Justice, holding in her right hand a sword all naked and in the other a pair of balances ; and she had under her feet the King Nero : Force, armed, holding in her hand a shaft ; and under her feet was Holofernes, all armed : Temperance, holding in her hand a bit of a horse ; and under her feet was Epicurus . Prudence, holding in her hand a syerge ;* and under her feet Sardanapalus. With these were tabrets that played merrily while the noble company passed through. Under was a Unicorn and Greyhound that held a difference of one thistle flourished and a red rose entrellised. Then the noble company passed out of the town to the church of the Holy Cross,† out of which came the Archbishop of St. Andrews, brother of the King, his cross borne before him, accompanied by the reverend fathers in God, the Bishop of Aberdeen, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, the Bishops of Orkney, Caithness, Ross, Dunblane, and Dunkeld, and many abbots, all in their pontificals, with the religious and canons richly revested, preceded by their cross. The said Archbishop then

* *Syerge* or *Cierge*, a large wax candle used in religious ceremonies. The commoner forms were *Cerge* and *Serge*. (O.F. *cerge*, L. *cereus*, *cera*.)

† Holyrood.

gave the King a relic to kiss, but he did as he had done before.

After this done, each one leapt off his horse and in fair order went after the procession to the Church; and in the entering of the same the King and the Queen lighted down. And afterwards he took the Queen by the body doing humble reverence, and led her to the great altar, where was a place ordained for them to kneel upon two cushions of cloth of gold, the Lord Chamberlain of the Queen exercising his office as before. But the King would never kneel down first, but both together. And by the said Archbishop was given him to kiss a rich cross, whereof he did as before without offering; and at the entering of the said church* the choir (*chappelle*) of the King, and others, began the *Te Deum*.

After all the reverences were done at the church in order as before, the King transported himself to the palace through the cloister, holding always the Queen by the body, and his head bare, till he had brought her within her chamber.

✓ The town of Edinburgh was in many places hung with tapestry; the houses and windows were full of lords, ladies, gentlewomen and gentlemen; and in the streets was so great a multitude of people without number, that it was a fair thing to see; the which people were very glad of the coming of the said Queen. And in the churches of the said town, bells rang for mirth.

* Lit. choir (*quere*).

The Royal Marriage. The morning preparations.*Ibid.*

The 8th day of the said month every man appointed himself richly for the honour of the noble marriage. Between 8 and 9 o' the clock everyone was ready, nobly apparelled; and the ladies came richly arrayed, some in gowns of cloth of gold, others of crimson velvet and black, others of satin and of tinsel, of damask and of camlet of many colours, with hoods, chains, and collars upon their necks, accompanied by their gentlewomen arrayed honestly after their guise, to hold company with the said Queen.

After came the Bishop of Moray to fetch my lords, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham, who were very honestly arrayed in their estate; as also the Earl of Surrey, who was richly arrayed in a long gown of cloth of gold, with his rich collar of the Garter, accompanied by many lords, . . . knights, and gentlemen, richly and honestly arrayed, and wearing good chains. In that manner the lords were brought by the Bishop of Moray to the King, who was within his great chamber upon his feet, and, at the coming of the said lords, he made reverence to every man, his bonnet always in his hand. The King then caused them to sit upon a form before him against himself, and desired them to cover their heads. The Archbishop was placed at the right hand, and the Earl of Surrey at the left hand. The King sat in a chair of crimson velvet, the panels of the same being gilt, under his Cloth of State of blue velvet figured with gold. . . .

After silence made and everyone sat in order, Doctor Rawlins, Doctor of Divinity, began the preposition ; who well and wisely and with good manner demeaned him in his utterance of the same, and at every word requisite made honourable reverence. This done, the King commanded Master Doctor Murehed,* his secretary, to give short answer ; the which thing he did very reverently in brief conclusion. After those prepositions done, every man did reverence to the King, as did the King likewise to them at his drawing into his own chamber ; and then the Archbishop, his brother, and the Bishop of Aberdeen conveyed the aforesaid lords and company again to the lodging of the Queen.

A little after the Queen was by the said lords and company brought from her chamber to the church, crowned with a very rich crown of gold garnished with pierrery† and pearls. She was led on the right hand by the Archbishop of York, and on the left hand by the Earl of Surrey. Her train was borne by the Countess of Surrey, a gentleman usher helping her. The Queen was nobly accompanied with her ladies richly arrayed. . . It was ordained by the Earl of Surrey that two of the greatest ladies of England going together should take with them two of the greatest ladies of Scotland, and so all four to go together in a row. . .

Thus the Queen was conveyed to the said church

* Richard Murehed, Dean of Glasgow.

† Jewels. Fr. *pierreries*.

and placed near to the font—Mistress Denton, her mistress, being always nigh her, and all her noble company standing in order on the left side of the church. Incontinent came the right reverend father in God, my lord the Archbishop of Glasgow, accompanied with the prelates, all in pontificals, and other notables, folks of the church.

Then the King was brought by a very fair company consisting of his said brother and the aforesaid lords, his steward, chamberlain, the constable, and the marshall, with all their staffs of their offices, and other nobles, knights, squires, and gentlemen, richly and honestly arrayed and with good chains. The Lord of Hamilton bore his sword before him. His officers of arms were in their coats, and all his nobles stood in order on the right side of the church.

The Royal Apparel.

Then the King coming near to the Queen made reverence, and she to him very humbly. The King was in a gown of white damask, figured with gold and lined with sarsanet. He had on a jacket with sleeves of crimson satin, the cuffs of black velvet; under the same a doublet of cloth of gold, and a pair of scarlet hose; his shirt embroidered with thread of gold; his bonnet black, with a rich ruby (*balay*); and his sword about him. The Queen was arrayed in a rich robe like himself, bordered with crimson velvet and lined with the same. She had a very rich collar of gold of pierrery and pearls round her neck, and the crown upon her head, her hair



KING JAMES AND QUEEN MARGARET.

hanging. Betwixt the said crown and the hair was a very rich coif hanging down behind the whole length of the body.

The Service.

Then the noble marriage was performed by the said Archbishop of Glasgow; and the Archbishop of York, in presence of all, read the bulls of our Holy Father the Pope of Rome consenting thereto. This done, the trumpets blew for joy, and the King, being bareheaded and holding her by the right hand, was conveyed through the said company to the high altar, before the which was dressed a place for them two to kneel upon rich cushions of cloth of gold. But this the King would never do, previously paying her the most great humility and reverence as possibly might be. After their orisons done, and during the litany, which was sung and said by the Archbishop, the King withdrew himself to his traverse* fringed with blue and red, which stood on the left side, and there set himself in a rich chair. In likewise the Queen into her own traverse of black, which was on the right side, and sat down in a rich chair also. Then the Archbishop began the mass, and so they returned into the place where they were before, abiding there during the time of the mass. At the end of the mass she made their offering, and before the Saint Canon she was anointed. After which the King rose up, the sceptre in his hand. Then was sung *Te Deum Laudamus*; and two prelates

* A seat within lattice-work.

held the cloth upon them during the remainder of the mass. That and all the ceremonies accomplished, there was brought by the lords bread and wine in rich pots and rich cups.

After the collation each one was put in order according to his birth. And the King leading the Queen as before conveyed her to her chamber, and then departed from her and went to his own, where he held estate royal for that day.

1503.—Margaret in Scotland.

Margaret to Henry VII. Ellis, I. i. 42.

Sir, . . . As for news I have none to send, but that my lord of Surrey is in great favour with the King here, that he cannot forbear the company of him no time of the day. He and the bishop of Moray ordereth everything as nigh as they can to the King's pleasure. I pray God it may be for my poor heart's ease in time to come. They call not my chamberlain to them, who I am sure will speak better for my part than any of them that be of that council. And, if he speak anything for my cause, my lord of Surrey hath such words unto him that he dare speak no further. God send me comfort to his pleasure, and that I and mine that be left here with me be well entreated such ways as they have taken. And as for this that I have written to your Grace, it is very true ; but I pray God I may find it well for my welfare hereafter. No more to your Grace at this time, but our Lord have you in his keeping. Written with the hand of your humble daughter,

MARGARET.

1505.—An old lovable Custom in the Burghs.

*Aberdeen Council Register and Analecta
Scotica (Maidment), II. 295.*

[The following extract gives an interesting reference to the popular dramatic pieces of the time. An Interlude of this reign, in all probability the work of Dunbar, entitled the "Maner of the Crying of ane Playe," has been preserved. (See Laing's *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland*, p. 296.)]

It was found by the old lovable custom and rite of the burgh, that, in the honour of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the craftsmen of the same, in their best array kept and adorned (*decorit*) the procession on Candlemas day yearly; which old and lovable custom the Provost, Bailies, and Council, ripely advised, ratified, and approved, and moreover statute and ordained that the said craftsmen and their successors shall perpetually in time to come observe and keep the said procession as honourably as they can. And they shall, in order to the offering in the Play, pass two and two together, socially; first, the fleshers, barbers, bakers (*baxteris*), shoemakers (*cordiners*), skimmers, coopers, wrights, hatmakers, and bonnetmakers, together; then the fullers (*walcaris*), dyers (*litstaris*), weavers (*wobstaris*), tailors, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and hammermen; and the craftsmen shall furnish the pageants; the shoemakers, the messenger; the weavers and fullers, Simeon; the smiths and goldsmiths, the Three Kings of Cologne; the dyers, the Emperor; the masons, the three Knights; the tailors, Our Lady,

Saint Bride, and Saint Helen; and the skimmers, the two Bishops: and two of each craft to pass with the pageant that they furnish, to keep their gear. And if any person happen to fail and break any point before written, and be convicted thereof, he shall pay xl shillings to Saint Nicholas Werk,* and the bailies 'unlaw' unforgiven.

[The 'Three Kings of Cologne' was a favourite mediæval legend written by John Hildesheim. About this time several English editions were printed by Wynkyn de Worde, viz., in 1490 (date omitted), 1511, 1526, and 1530. See Horstmann's edition (Early English Text Society) 1886.

Each craft by long custom became identified with certain characters in the procession. Thus in an entry of 5th Sept., 1442, we find:—

Dyers.—Emperor and two Doctors, and as many honest squires as they may.

Smiths and Hammermen.—Three Kings of Cologne, &c.

Tailors.—Our Lady, St. Bride, St. Helen, Joseph, and as many squires as they may.

Skimmers.—Two Bishops and Four Angels, &c.

Weavers and Fullers.—Simeon and his disciples, &c.

Shoemakers.—The messenger and Moses, &c.

Fleshers.—Two or four madmen, &c.

The Brethren of the Gild.—Knights in harness, and squires honestly arrayed.

Bakers.—The minstrels.

1505, April.—James warns the Duke of Gueldres against receiving Edmund de la Pole.

Epist. Reg. Scot. I., ii.; Gairdner, II., 192, and I., xlvii.

[The following letter is interesting as showing how keenly

* *I.e.* The parish church of Aberdeen. So in Edinburgh some fines were given to the Wark of St. Giles.

James watched the movements of the exiled Suffolk, and sought remedy against anything which (in his own words on another occasion) was 'contrary to the possibility of his interest' in the English succession.]

. . . Beloved kinsman, I may with the more freedom accuse you of violating your engagements, for you formerly promised us in your letters that you would absolutely deny Edmund de la Pole, late Earl of Suffolk, your dominions, make proclamation everywhere against him, and severely punish any contravention of it. You allege as your reason for doing so, that, having taken counsel, you expected it would be of great use to you with our father the King of England to admit him within your bounds, so that a condition of peace might be procured by your mediation, for which he promised you full power and authority. What our opinion is, understand in a few words. It is useless excusing yourself to men of experience with a feigned pretext of mediation; you make but a lame defence of your innocence. Nothing could justify you in departing from your promise for the sake of a perfidious man without consulting me, to whom you had bound yourself, especially when De la Pole's inconstancy was already more than sufficiently known to you; to whom formerly, though a fugitive suppliant rebel, when he returned to England the King mercifully forgave all his revolt. Therefore I tell you this, as a thing most sure and certain. The King's prudence deigns not now either to recall De la Pole from his error, or to listen to any composition, that rebels by the infliction of the

due punishment of treason may lay aside contumacy and impiety. . . . Either you have been inconsiderate, or, what I fain would rather believe, his coming to you was without permission, nor was any assurance given him that it should be with impunity, but by accident he has escaped your vigilance. . . .

You add that by the agency of De la Pole in Gelderland an armed band of about 6000 foot has often met in your country under leaders, but for what object was unknown. . . . You would have done better to have passed over the circumstance in silence, and not allowed a vain hope to carry you through tortuous ways. It is quite absurd in you to pretend nor does it appear probable to us, that a needy man, whom you supply with food, keeps a thousand armed men in his pay. One of two things I think you are attempting, either that the King of England through vain fear shall conciliate De la Pole, or that he shall expect to see him restored by your arms. It is nonsense talking of fear in a king hitherto unconquered, whose friendship the greatest princes eagerly embrace, and who by his bravery has repeatedly overcome, with great slaughter, strong bands of enemies. . . . Beware. This Edmund will deceive you by too much promising of friends. . . . You treat kindly a rebel of England, an exile from the greater part of Christendom, to the disgust of your friends and to the complication even of your own affairs, at a time when you ought to be conciliating princes rather than exasperating them. Is this what has come of our supplications? Is our

bond of consanguinity at an end? Have your promises come to this? Over trustful that I was! I represented you to my most illustrious father the King of England, as a well-meaning and friendly prince; you openly declare yourself his enemy, and the sole refuge of his rebels. For these egregious merits, forsooth, you demand that we should come to your succour against the great and powerful Kings of the Romans and Castile, who for our sake ordered this Edmund, whom you cherish, away from their persons and their kingdoms. . . .

Do not think that we have written to you too harshly; it concerns the surest interest of our most illustrious father, our most serene brother, our most gentle wife. . . . But the unhappy De la Pole is an obstacle to our desires; so long as he is secure, you will never be conscious of our wealth, or of the wealth of friends. Your hateful guest denies you arms, men, and money. Therefore, Duke and kinsman, as soon as you can, get rid of this unhappy wretch, and strive yet to reconcile yourself to our most benevolent father; by the same way by which you have offended him, you may study to conciliate him. . . . If you abide honourably by your promise, we shall strive to replace our mutual good will, and to moderate the violence offered to you.*

**1506, July 15.—James and the troubles in
Denmark.**

James to Christina, Queen of Denmark. *Epist. Reg.*
Scot. I. p. 69. and Gairdner (*Letters*), II. p. 215.

Most illustrious princess, the letter which you had

* See also Calendar (Henry VIII.) No. 3320. See Appendix.

sealed at your castle of Copenhagen on the 13th of March last was handed to us by Thomas Sieland on the 10th of July. You speak of my anxiety about your affairs, while the Swedes were at war with you, and that the offices of a near friend on your behalf have prevailed; on which account you render us thanks, and will ever remain grateful. You narrate the annoyances of that perfidious people, which you had to endure in a truly heroic manner throughout a six months' siege, while your brave soldiery perished by hunger and disease; and, in addition, you tell of the most deadly plague which attacked even the most robust.* Nevertheless you rejoice, that you a woman have overcome so great misfortunes. Truly, most renowned princess, that long siege had moved us deeply (we indeed confess it), and had excited in us great concern: wherefore we sent a fleet of our subjects to Copenhagen, who, having had the less to do, have returned to us more speedily than expected. We should have in no wise tolerated this, nor would they have ever dared to do so, unless they had brought back word that you were safe, and that no danger threatened you. You give thanks for this, and indeed you are very courteous; but I seek no gratitude for myself, for to whom will I be a friend if not to you and yours? I wished to do some service, and, beyond expectation, the occasion came.

* Queen Christina wrote to James on 13th March informing him of a pestilence which had carried off 900 men at Copenhagen. See *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Records*, Vol. 46, App. II., p. 53, and Wegener, p. 53.

Who does not admire and who will praise unwillingly you, the heroine of this event, who bore the hard issues of this war? You have, by this one argument, fully shown the nobility of your blood; now do what you have determined in your unconquered will, keep yourself in good fortune, and give us your love. Most illustrious Princess, farewell. From Edinburgh, &c.

[This letter refers to some episodes in the rebellion of the Swedes under Sten Sture against the Danish King. Between August 1501 and August 1502 James sent two ships and an armed force to assist King John and his ally, the Elector of Brandenburg. Queen Christina had been imprisoned by the Swedish leader in the Castle of Stockholm and afterwards in the convent of Wadstena. James took a great interest in the politics of Denmark, as is shewn by his extensive correspondence with his royal relatives. In 1507 he sent an embassy to Lubeck, and afterwards to Denmark, to investigate the cause of dissension between them. He counselled moderation; and he received hearty thanks, from Lubeck in March, and from King John in April. In July, 1507, Tycho Vincent, Dean of Copenhagen, came from John as ambas-ador to Scotland; and in April, 1508, James, in answer to a request for assistance against Lubeck, advised peace, but ultimately sent Andrew Barton. James explained his attitude in a letter to Maximilian. (*Epist. Reg. Scot.*, I., 112). See Appendix on the 'Relations with Denmark'.]

1506. Aug. 13.--The Building of the Scottish Fleet.

James to Louis XII. *Epist. Reg.*

Scot. I., p. 39. Gairdner, II. 219.

To the most illustrious, &c. For a long time past we have been busy with the building of a fleet for the protection of our shores, and to this day we labour at it with great zeal. . Since there is a **greater abundance**

of building material in your realm, we have sent our men thither to fetch beams and oakwood from a friendly nation, and to bring shipwrights to us. The dishonesty of certain of your people disturbed all our arrangements and prevented our purchases; they attempted to confiscate what was already prepared, on the plea that it was against the law, until your Majesty, having been made aware of these matters, removed the obstacles in our favour, restrained those doers of mischief, nay, even gave facilities for the furnishing of our fleet. . . . Order this fleet, me and my people, whither you will; you will find no one readier to obey, either for vow or honour.

[On 20 Mar., 1512, we find James writing to John of Denmark, to say that he has detained his subject, Andrew Jensen, to furnish masts for his fleet, and that he has had to send to Norway for them. *Epist. Regum Scotorum*, I., p. 137.]

1506, Dec. 21.—The King's intended journey to Jerusalem.

Sanuto's *Diaries*, (*Venetian Papers* I.). [Ital.]

On the morning of the 21st an ambassador from the King of Scotland came into the College, the Sages for the Orders having been sent to accompany him to the audience.

Presented a letter of credence, and said that his King meant to go to Jerusalem. Requested the Signory to give him either galleys or artificers to build them. Was told that his Majesty's demand should be granted willingly, and good greeting was given him.

[James states his intentions to visit the Holy Land in a letter to the Cardinal of St. Mark's in 1509 (Gairdner, II., 278). He

requests the Pope to release him from the necessity of visiting Rome on his way to the East. See also the letter dated May 24, 1513. John of Denmark, in a letter of 20th July, 1507, urged Robert Forman to dissuade James from the expedition (*a tam acerba peregrinatione abstineat*) — *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Records*, p. 54. It is probable that James's desire to preserve the alliance with France, in order that he pass through that kingdom on his pilgrimage, was one of the many causes which produced the rupture with Henry.]

1507, March.—Pope Julius declares James Protector of the Christian Religion, and sends a hat and sword.

Boece, *Lives of Bishops of Murthlac and Aberdeen*.

At this time Pope Julius the Second proclaimed, by his legates, James the Fourth to be 'Protector of the Christian religion.' He sent legates to offer to him, in the name of the Pontiff, a purple hat variegated with golden flowers, a sword with a golden hilt and a golden scabbard studded with precious stones, and to congratulate him very heartily, because, while the rest of the Christian princes were busy with campaigns and tumults, both abroad and within their domains, he alone stood aloof from war. At that moment the French arms were attacking the Italian cities, of which several had fallen into the hands of Louis, some by storm, others by surrender.

1507. Mar. 13. — O'Donnel seeks aid from James.

O'Donnel to James IV. Gairdner, II., 237.

To the most illustrious James, &c. We make known to your excellent Majesty by the tenor of this present letter, just as we did some time ago, in the

lifetime of our father of beloved memory, chief of Ulster and your dearest subject, our desire to pay a visit in person to your Highness,—as we have made clear to you in our letters; and to this moment we retain the wish for an opportunity of that kind. Nevertheless the death of our father has stood in the way, and we have been unable to fulfil our wish or bring it to a sure consummation, since from that time we have been at war with many of the Irish nobles,—to a prosperous termination of which we look, with the aid of the Divine mercy. In sooth, in the beginning of this coming summer we intend to advance with determination against our many adversaries because of their great misdeeds; and for this purpose we hope much from your support by granting us the aid of your subjects. We seek this on account of your royal magnificence; and to this extent, that you command Lord John, your chief vassal, son of Alexander McHean,* to come to us on the next feast of the Apostles, Philip and James,† and to have with him four thousand men, armed and thoroughly equipped for war: and under such penalties as you think fit, for the lieges which you have commanded in that part of Scotland which is nearer us, and especially the nobles of the Clan Donnel (Dompnayll), that those of them which the

* John MacIan of Ardnamurchan. He apprehended John of Isla and his four sons in 1494. In 1505 he was associated with Earls of Arran and Argyle and Macleod of Harris in the expedition against the Isles. He put to death Sir Alexander of Lochalsh. See Gregory's *Western Highlands*, pp. 67, 90, 101, 108, &c.

† May 1.

aforesaid Lord McHean will bring with him for our comfort will obey and be with us at the time arranged; and that you warn also the same lords of the Clan Donnel, under pains which suit your royal benevolence, that none shall join with the other lords and nobles of Ireland against us.

[James writes to O'Donnel on 22 April that there is no time to send the troops before the day named. He wishes to know who his enemies are, and what is the cause of quarrel. He commends the fidelity of his father.]

1507, Sept. 15.—The introduction of Printing.

Reg. Sec. Sigill. iii., 129.

[The following is the charter granted by James IV. to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar to set up a press in Scotland.]

James, &c. To all and sundry our officers, lieges, and subjects whom it concerns, to whose knowledge these our letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that, forasmuch as our loved servants Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, burgesses of our burgh of Edinburgh, have at our instance and request, for our pleasure and the honour and profit of our realm and lieges, taken on them to furnish and bring home a press (*print*), with all stuff belonging thereto, and expert men to use the same, for imprinting within our realm of the books of our Laws, Acts of Parliament, chronicles, mass books, and portuus* after the

* *Portuus*, *portuary*, &c. (*portiforium*) is a name for the Breviary, referring probably to its *portable* character. One of the earliest specimens of Scottish prose, preserved in the Asloan Manuscript, is entitled 'The *Portuus* and Matynis of Nobilnes.'

use of our Realm, with additions and legends of Scottish saints now gathered to be eked thereto, and all other books that shall be seen necessary, and to sell the same for competent prices, by our advice and discretion, their labours and expenses being considered; and because we understand that this cannot be furnished without right great cost, labour, and expenses,—we have granted and promised to them, that they shall not be hurt nor prevented therein by any others to take copies of any books forth of our realm to cause imprint the same in other countries, to be brought and sold again within our realm, to cause the said Walter and Andrew lose their great labour and expenses; and also it is devised and thought expedient by us and our Council, that in time coming mass books, manuals, matin books, and portuus books, after our own Scots use, and with legends of Scots saints, as are now gathered and eked by the reverend father in God, and our trusty councillor, William, Bishop of Aberdeen, and others, be used generally within all our realm as soon as the same may be printed and provided; and that no manner of such books of Salisbury use be brought to be sold within our realm in time coming. Wherefore, &c.

[It is interesting to note that the *first* specimens of the Scottish press (1508) were popular tales and ballad pieces, although there were such important productions as *The Breviary of Aberdeen* (1510) and Boece's *Lives of the Bishops*. Laing reprinted the earliest Scottish typographical work under the title of 'The Knightly Tale of Golagrus and Gawane and other Ancient Poems,' (1827), to the preface of which the reader is referred for further

information. It is a common error to suppose that Chepman endowed his mortuary chapel in St. Giles with the money he had made in printing. The new art was as yet a luxury, and Chepman's means came from his commissions on the silver work, timber, cloth, &c., which he imported, and not from the 'prent' which he had set up. After the first activity no books were produced for 20 years, that is, till the time of Thomas Davidson, Printer to James V.]

The King's Love of Alchemy.

James to James Inglis (1508 ?). *Epist. Reg. Scot.*, I. 119.

James &c. . to dear Master James Inglis, greeting. We graciously accept your kindness, by which in a letter brought to us you signify that you have beside you certain books learned in the philosophy of the true Alchemy, and that although most worthy men have sought them from you, you have nevertheless with difficulty kept them for our use, because you had heard of our enthusiasm for the art. We give you thanks ; . and we have sent our familiar, Master James Merchenistoun, to you, that he may see to the transfer hither of those books which you wish us to have ; whom receive in good faith in our name. Farewell. From our Palace at Edinburgh.

From the Treasurer's Accounts.

- 27 Sept. Item, for a pan in Stirling for the quinta
essencia, and 'potingary' there. vi.s.
29 Sept. For aqua vitæ* for the quinta essencia. .
18 Oct. ii gallons aqua vitæ for quinta essencia.
iii.l. iiij.s.

* *Aqua vitæ* at this time was chiefly valued for its medicinal and experimental uses,

- 10 Nov. For four cauldrons to quinta essencia. xlv.s.
 24 Dec. V cakes glass for quinta essencia. xxv.s.
 31 Dec. Paid to William Foular, apothecary (*potin-gair*), for potingary to the King and Queen, distillation of waters, aqua vitæ, and potingary books in English, from the 17 day of December, 1506.

[James, in a letter to the King of Denmark (*Epist.* I., 119), speaks of one John Haboch, a goldwasher, who had been in Scotland and would give him an account of the minerals of Scotland, and especially of the gold. Note also James's patronage of the Italian, who became Abbot of Tunland. The first account is found in Lesley; it is the subject of a humorous poem by Dunbar, (p. 139, *Scottish Text Society's* edition).]

1508, Feb. 15.—Of the overloading of Ships.

Acta Domin. Concil. (MS.)

It is statute and ordained by our Sovereign Lord and his Lords of Council, that, because there has been great scathe and hurt done in times bygone to his merchant lieges and to the common weal of his realm, through the overloading of the ships passing forth and coming in his realm with merchandise (through the which great quantity of goods has been lost and spoilt, and divers ships with the whole merchandise and goods have perished and been lost), and for the eschewing of such scathe and inconvenience in time to come,—that no skipper, master, nor owner of any ship carry nor load their ships no further than they can goodly bear; and that they carry nor store no merchandise above the deck (*overlofte*) of the ships,

unless they indent with the owner of their goods, and take their writing; . . . and if goods be abandoned, no man to have scathe thereof, but he that owns the same, &c.

1508, April.—Wolsey in Scotland. The opposition of the Bishop of Moray.

Wolsey to Henry VII. (Pinkerton.
II. App., p. 455.)

[Wolsey was sent to Scotland to secure the English alliance. The dispatch, from which the following is an extract, is interesting as being perhaps the earliest specimen of Wolsey's work as an ambassador.* After referring to the dispute about the detention of the earl of Arran and others in England,† Wolsey proceeds as under.]

As touching the renewing of the old league between Scotland and France, your son saith, that, as long as you be to him loving, kind, and like his good father, he shall never break with you, nor renew the old league; . . . and that neither fear, nor yet possibility of succession, shall move or cause him to keep the amity, but only love and kindness on your part. . . Your son thinketh also that you take him not as your son, nor yet trusteth him accordingly; and that your Grace hath had mistrust, and very ill report of him, or else you would never have dealt with him so sharply as you have done. Notwithstanding all this, from henceforth, if your Grace be to him as his father, he

* The despatch is printed in Pinkerton II, App. 445. It is there said to be by Nicolas West; but Mr. Gairdner has shown (*Letters Rich. III., &c.*, i. lxi.) that the handwriting is Wolsey's.

† They had passed through England to France with Henry's safe-conduct, but had been detained on the return journey.

should be to you in all things as your loving son . . . All the whole body of Scotland, as well the commons as the noblemen, saith boldly that the King doth to them all express wrong, if he renew not this old league. And all his, the Bishop of Moray except, daily calleth upon him for the same. There be no more that sticketh in this matter, but only the King, the Queen, and the Bishop of Moray. As he saith, there was never man worse welcome to Scotland than I; forasmuch as they think I am come for to let the renewal of the league between Scotland and France. They keep their matters so secret here, that the wives in the market knoweth every cause of my coming.

1508. April 11.—The bettering of the Highlands.

Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis (Grampian Club) I., p. 22.

[The following grant is one of the many interesting proofs which we have of the wise and generous policy pursued by James regarding the Highlands and Isles. It follows naturally upon the decree of the Lords of Council and the enactments of the Parliament of 1503-4 already quoted.]

A letter of gift made to Kanoch Williamson, during the King's will, of all and whole the lands of the terunga* of Kilmartine, and the half of the terunga of Baramosmor in Trouternes,† with their pertinents, extending yearly to six merks of old extent, lying in the lordship of the Isles, to hold the said Kanoch at the schools, to learn and study the King's laws of Scotland, and afterwards to

* 'Terunga' of land — about four merk land of old extent.

† Trotternish.

exercise and use the same within the bounds of the Isles, &c. At Stirling, the xi. day of April, 1^m v^c and viii. years, and of the King's reign the xxi. year.

1508, May-July.—The Pilgrimage of the Bishop of Glasgow.

Venetian Papers, I. p. 329.

On the morning of the 16th May the ambassadors from France, Milan, and Spain came into the College, and a Bishop of Scotland, dressed in purple camlet, accompanied by Lorenzo Orio, Doctor, Marco Gradenigo, Doctor, and Jacomo Moro and Magio Machiel of the Catavero* office.

He is lodged in Canaregio at Cà Frizier, and has come with a number of persons to go to Jerusalem. Has a revenue of 2000 ducats. On entering the College sat near the Doge; presented letters of credence and recommendation to the Signory from his King, and from the King of France; and made a Latin oration in praise of the State and of the Doge, and of the good will between his King and the Signory.

He said he would consult about going either by the Jaffa galley or by a ship. The Doge spoke him graciously as usual.

On Ascension Day, the 1st of June, the Doge went as usual, with the Ambassadors and others invited to the dinner, in the Bucintor beyond the two castles of S. Andrea and S. Nicolò, to espouse and bless the sea. There were present the ambassadors of France, Spain,

* Exchequer.

Milan, and Ferrara, and also a Bishop of Scotland, who is going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

[Nov. 14] In these days the Jaffa galley, Jacomo Michiel, master, returned, and the ship belonging to the Marconi, on board of which out of 36 pilgrims 27 had died, including the rich Bishop of Scotland, the King's relation, who was treated with distinction by the Signory.*

1509, July 15.—The Administration of the Borders.

Acta Domin. Concil. (MS.).

All men shall keep their own bond from the misrule of Scotsmen, or from the incoming of Englishmen or rebels within the bond; and, if any come in, that they pass and follow upon them, as they will answer to the King: That no man pass . . . and reive or steal in England under the pain of treason; and that they resist the Englishmen and rebels, if they come in Scotland, under the pain of treason, and do their diligence in the apprehending of them, under the same pains, and that the Warden and headmen advise where the frequented passage is, that the Englishmen and rebels come in at, and put the watches nightly for the resistance of them at all places needful.

1510, Nov. 24.—The 'Ayre' of Jedburgh.

Pitcairn, I., 69.

[The following may serve as a specimen of the work which had to be done at a Border Eyre.]

John Dalgleish produced a signature of remission

* Robert Blacader died on the 28th July, 1508.

for art and part of the theft of xvi. cows and oxen from John Scot : Item, for traiterous intercommuning with Simon Turnbull and his accomplices, Englishmen, in treasonable manner : Item, for resetting of William Dalgleish, common thief, in his thefts, and specially during the time of the theft of eighty sheep from Thomas Murray : Item, for treasonable in-bringing of Black John Rouclesche and his accomplices, traitors of Leven, to the burning of Bransholm, and the plunder (*herischip*) of horses, oxen, grain, and other goods, extending to six hundred marks, and for the treasonable intercommuning with the Armstrongs at the time of the burning of Ancrum,



SEAL OF JOHN ARMSTRONG.

and at other times: Item, for theft and concealing of xx. oxen and cows from John Scot forth of North-house: Item, for resetting the said rebels, at the time of the theft of four horses from Philip Faulo and his neighbours forth of Whitchester-holm: Item, for resetting William Dalglish and Simon Dalglish, thieves and traitors of Leven, in their thefts and treasonable deeds: Item, for common treason, common theft, and common reset of theft, before the date of his remission.—And because he could not find sureties to satisfy the parties, judgment was given that he should be warded by the sheriff forty days; and, if he could not find sureties in the meantime, that he should be hanged. Nov. 24 (Sabbath Day, the sixth of the ayre).

[A full account of the Ayres of Selkirk (1494, 1502, 1510) will be found in Craig-Brown's *History of Selkirkshire*, I. pp. 109 - 123. Pitcairn's accounts are condensed. The above Ayre of Jedburgh is better known in the words of Lesley: 'The King rode forth from Edinburgh the 8th of November, well accompanied, to the water of Roulle, where he took divers broken men, and brought them to Jedburgh; of whom some were justified*; and the principals of the troubles came in linnen clothes, with naked swords in their hands, and halters about their necks, and put them in the King's will; who were sent to divers castles in ward, with sundry others of that country men also; whereat the Borders were in greater quietness thereafter.'

1511.—The Great Michael.

Pitscottie, p. 107.

In this same year, the King of Scotland built a great ship called the Great Michael, which was

* Executed.

the greatest ship and of most strength that ever sailed in England or France ; for this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which were oakwood, over all the timber that was gotten out of Norway. For she was so strong, and of so great length and breadth (all the wrights of Scotland, yea, and many other strangers, were at her device by the King's commandment, who wrought very busily in her ; but it was year and day ere she was complete)—to wit, she was twelve score feet in length and thirty-six feet within the sides. She was ten feet thick in the wall, and had cut ribs of oak in her wall, and boards on every side, so strong and so thick, that no cannon could go through her. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to sea. When she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with ropes and anchors belonging thereto, she was counted to the King to be thirty thousand pounds of expenses by her artillery, which was very great and costly to the King, and by all the rest of her orders.* She bare many cannons,† six on each side ; with three great bassils, two behind in her dock, and one before ; with three hundred shot of small artillery, that is to say, myand, and battert-falcon, and quarter-falcon, slings, pestilent serpentens, and double-dogs, with hagtore and culverin, cross-

* See Nicolas West to Henry VIII (Ellis I., i, p. 69.) 'The King said that she shot xvi. pils of great ordnance on every side, and that he had more great ordnance in her than the French King ever had to the siege of any town ; which methought to be a great crack.'

† See Appendix.

bows and hand-bows. She had three hundred mariners to sail her; she had six score of gunners to use her artillery; and she had a thousand men of war, besides her captains, skippers, and quartermasters.

When this ship passed to the sea, and was lying in the roads, the King caused shoot a cannon at her, to essay her if she were strong (*wight*); but I heard say, it damaged (*deared*) her not, and did her little scathe. And if any man believe that this description of the ship be not of verity, as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tullibardin, and there, before the same, he will see the length and breadth of her planted with hawthorn by the wright that helped to make her. As for the other properties of her, Sir Andrew Wood is my author, who was quartermaster of her, and Robert Barton, who was master skipper.

This ship lay still in the roads; and the King every day took pleasure to pass to her, and to dine and sup in her with his lords, letting them see the order of his ship.

[The Great Michael was bought by Louis XII. on the 2nd April, 1514, for 40,000 livres. It had remained in France since Arran's expedition in the previous year. See *Epist. Regum Scot.* I., p. 214.]

1511, May 10.—Preparations for the Queen's visit to Aberdeen.

Aberdeen Council Register. (Spalding Club).

[This was Queen Margaret's first visit. The passage gives us a glimpse of the state of the streets in these days.]*

* Cf. also *Aberdeen Council Register*, April 30, 1511. Dunbar in his 'Satire on Edinburgh,' gives many hints as to the state of

It was statute and ordained, that all persons dwelling beyond the High street in the back stairs, so many as shall be warned and charged thereto and indicted by the provost and bailies, furnish and dress (*graithe*) the stairs of the High street with arras work daily, as is becoming, . . . for the receiving of our sovereign lady the Queen.

Also that no swine being within this burgh, young nor old, be kept beyond the top of the High street for fifteen days, under pain of slaughter of the said swine, escheating of them, and banishing of them that own the same; and also that all the town be cleared of the swine sties (*cruffis*).

Also that all manner of persons that bring any birch boughs, holly, grass, herbs, or any other green flowers, have common passage, and shall have free money and ready silver for the same.

1511, May.—William Dunbar's description of the Visit to Aberdeen.

Poems, (Scot. Text. Society) p. 251.

And first her met the burghers of the town,
 Richly arrayed, as became them to be,
 Of whom they chose out four men of renown,
 In gowns of velvet, young, able and lusty,
 To bear the pall of velvet *cramasé**

Above her head, as the custom has been;

the streets of the old capital. (Scottish Text Society's edit., p. 261.) It may also be compared with the order of the Privy Council to the Magistrates of Edinburgh a century later. 24th December, 1616.

* **Crimson** (*Fr. cramoisi*).

Great was the sound of the artillery :
Be blithe and blissful, burgh of Aberdeen.

A fair procession met her at the Port,*
In a cap of gold and silk, full pleasantly ;
Syne† at her entry, with many fair disport
Receivèd her on streetis lustily ;

Where first the salutation honourably
Of the sweet Virgin goodly might be seen ;
The sound of minstrels blowing to the sky :
Be blithe and blissful, burgh of Aberdeen.

And syne thou caused the Orient Kingis three
Offer to Christ, with benign reverence,
Gold, sence,‡ and myrrh, with all humility,
Showing him King with most magnificence ;
Syne how the angel, with sword of violence,
Forth of the joy of paradise put clean
Adam and Eve for disobedience :
Be blithe and blissful, burgh of Aberdeen.

And syne the Bruce, that ever was bold in stour,||
Thou gart as roy§ come riding under crown,
Right awful, strong, and large of portraiture,
As noble, dreadful, mighty champion :
The noble Stewarts syne of great renown
Thou gart upspring, with branches new and green,
So gloriously, till gladdened all the town :
Be blithe and blissful, burgh of Aberdeen.

* Gate

† Then.

‡ Frankincense.

|| Fight.

§ Caused as king.

Syne came there four and twenty maidens young,
 All clad in green, of marvellous beauty,
 With hair detressit*, as threads of gold did hang,
 With white hats all broidered right bravely,
 Playing on timbrels, and singing right sweetly ;
 That seemly sort, in order well beseen,
 Did meet the queen, saluting reverently :
 Be blithe and blissful, burgh of Aberdeen.

The streets were all hung with tapestry ;
 Great was the press of people dwelt about ;
 And pleasant pageants playëd prettily ;
 The lieges all did to their lady lout,†
 Who was convoyëd with a royal rout
 Of great barons and lusty ladies sheen ; ‡
 ‘Welcome, our Queen!’ the commons gave a
 shout :

Be blithe and blissful, burgh of Aberdeen.
 At her coming great was the mirth and joy,
 For at their Cross abundantly ran wine ;
 Unto her lodging the town did her convoy ;
 Her for to treat they set their whole ingyne ;||
 A rich present they did to her propyne,§
 A costly coup,¶ that large thing would contain,
 Covered and full of coined gold right fine :
 Be blithe and blissful, burgh of Aberdeen.

* Unfastened.

† Bow.

‡ Bright.

|| Mind, (genius).

§ Give as an offering.

¶ Bowl.

**1511, August.—The brave fight off the Downs.
Death of Andrew Barton.**

Hall (ed. 1809), p. 525.

In June the King of England being at Leicester, tidings were brought to him that Andrew Barton, a Scottish man, and a pirate of the sea, saying that the King of Scots had war with the Portuguese, did rob every nation, and so stopped the king's streams that no merchants almost could pass; and when he took the Englishmen's goods he said they were Portuguese goods; and thus he haunted and robbed at every haven's mouth. The king, moved greatly with this crafty pirate, sent Sir Edmund Howard, lord Admiral of England, and lord Thomas Howard, son and heir to the earl of Surrey, in all haste to the sea; who hastily made ready two ships, and without any more abode took the sea; and by chance of weather they were severed. The lord Howard lying in the Downs perceived where Andrew was making towards Scotland; and so fast the said lord chased him, that he overtook him, and there was a sore battle. The Englishmen were fierce, and the Scots defended them manfully, and ever Andrew blew his whistle to encourage his men; yet for all that the lord Howard and his men by clean strength entered the main deck. Then the Englishmen entered on all sides, and the Scots fought sore on the hatches; but in conclusion Andrew was taken, who was so sore wounded that he died there*. Then all the remnant of the Scots

* Andrew Barton was shot by a bowman named Hustler (not Horseley as in the Ballad). See Lamb's *Flodden Field*, notes,

were taken, with their ship called the Lion.

All this while was the lord Admiral in chase of the bark of Scotland, called Jenny Pirwyn, which was wont to sail with the Lion in company, and so much did he with the other, that he laid him on board, and fiercely assailed him : and the Scots, as hardy and well stomached men, them defended. But the lord Admiral so encouraged his men that they entered the bark and slew many, and took all the others.

Thus were these two ships taken, and brought to Black Wall, the second day of August ; and all the Scots were sent to the bishop's place of York, and there remained at the king's charge, till other direction was taken for them.

[The King of England afterwards pardoned them and bade them depart into Scotland within 20 days.]

The King of Scots, hearing of the death of Andrew Barton and the taking of his two ships, was wonderful wroth, and sent letters to the King of England, requiring restitution, according to the league and amity. The King of England wrote with brotherly salutations to the King of Scots of the robberies and evil doings of Andrew Barton ; and that it became not one prince to lay a breach of a league to another prince, in doing justice upon a pirate or thief ; and

p. 5. Andrew Barton was the son of John Barton, who had been killed by the Portuguese in the preceding reign. He had two brothers, who with him received letters of marque from James IV., to avenge their father's death and their loss of property. John, the youngest, sailed with a fleet to France in 1513 (Nov.) ; but having fallen sick near Kirkcudbright, he landed and there died.

that all the other Scots that were taken had deserved to die by justice, if he had not extended his mercy. And with this answer, the Scottish herald departed home.*

1512 April 10.—Birth of Prince James.

James IV. to King of Denmark. *Epist. Reg. Scot. I.* 141.

On holy Easter Eve, our most beloved spouse was delivered of a son, who was presented at the font on the very day of the Feast of the Lord's Resurrection, and received the sign of baptism from the priest. He gives promise of health and of succeeding after us. It seemed proper for us to inform your Majesty by this present letter, inasmuch as he will none the less be—provided he be spared—a source of strength and a help to you and to us.

1512.—The state of European politics.

Epist. Reg. Scot. I., 146.

[The following is from the articles delivered to Carrick Herald, which he was to announce to the King of Denmark. James gives a survey of the state of European politics.]

Announce the summoning of the General Council, and refer to the request of the Most Christian King, that the King of Denmark and the King of Scots

* Andrew Barton, it will be remembered, had been sent by James to aid John of Denmark. We learn from a letter of the Danish King to Henry VIII. that he had left his service without leave, and had taken away with him a ship which James had sent as a gift. John understands that the ship has fallen into Henry's hands after the fight, and requests it to be sent back to Denmark. —*Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Records*, Vol. 45. [1884.]

should act in common and have one and the same policy. Make mention of the fact that we have exerted ourselves strenuously for a reconciliation of the Most Christian King with his Holiness, and that, for that purpose, our ambassador, the Bishop of Moray, has crossed the Alps twice, and has laboured for it in the years gone by; but that the new treaty made between the Pope and the King of Aragon and the Venetians has hindered peace and amity. . . . Tell that the most illustrious King of England has collected a fleet and equipped it, and that he holds an army ready to make a sudden attack, when he wishes; and explain that there is danger of the English King attacking our territory and kingdom, because he has delayed giving redress for the damage done to us (although we requested our due), and for the death of Andrew Barton. You will tell that the King of France is in danger from the English, because the Most Serene King of Aragon, father-in-law of the English King, has declared open war on him; and that the King of Aragon, it is said, expects armed aid from his son-in-law. Also, you will make known that the Most Christian King of France has requested us and our uncle and ally the King of Denmark, and has sought us, by the offices of our ambassador, the Bishop of Moray,* to inform him with all speed, which side our uncle and we shall take in the event of England invading France; and also you will learn from our uncle

* The Treaty with France was confirmed on July 10, 1512. (Calend. Hen. VIII., No. 3303).

his intention, if the King of England should advance against us. If aid be given to the Most Christian King, not only will all expenses be repaid, but in future greater support will be given in return by the French King against our enemies. Wherefore on the present occasion it has seemed good to us to offer friendship, and to show to the world the treaty, struck in days of old, that the royal house of France may remember our uncle the King and us, and be a help to us in time of need, and send succour to withstand our foes.

[On the 28th May (*Epist. Reg. Scot.*, p. 148), James writes to the King of Denmark, asking what aid he can give, as Henry has declared war on France, 'and seeks occasion to attack us.']

1512.—The same. Later.*

Epist. Reg. Scot. I, 170.

We have offered to our brother the King of England to pardon all the damage which has been done to us and our kingdom by his folk, the capture of merchant ships, the slaughter and imprisonment of our subjects, the laying waste of the country, and all such losses—yea, to forget them all, and to renew the broken peace with him, on this one condition, that he will endeavour after and maintain the universal concord of the Church. . . And, lest we should raise suspicion in the arrangement of this

* The following extract is from the letter entrusted to a Dane, Magnus Beilde, who was returning to Denmark at the close of the year. The whole is a restatement of the policy which had been explained in a letter sent by a messenger, John White, before the return of Carrick Herald.

business, we instantly requested that he should treat for peace with the aid of your Majesty who are neutral. Our brother the Most Serene King of England, however, scorned all these proposals, and, as we have been informed, lately determined in Parliament to advance his arms, not only against the Most Christian King and the realm of France, but also against us. He urges as his excuse that he cannot invade France in safety, if we be left to ourselves. . . . Nor is there any doubt but that, if France were conquered, Scotland would be attacked by those folks, who now, by the daily increase of injuries, heed not the breach of the peace, nor choose to make restitution.

[James addresses Julius in much the same strain (Feb. 12, 1513), and earnestly hopes for the peace of Christendom.]

1513, March.—Nicolas West arrives in Scotland.

Polydore Vergil, xxvii. p. 629.

James, King of Scots, ever the closest ally of the French, was in arms as soon as he heard that war had broken out in Aquitaine, for he deemed it unwise to let slip the occasion. But, when he learned that the English had made no attempt [in Aquitaine], he returned, hoping to keep Henry in ignorance of his action. Henry nevertheless was suspicious, and sent an ambassador to him, Nicolas West, priest and jurisconsult, to discover his inclination, and to learn his plans.

1513, April 1.—His conversation with Queen
Margaret.

West to Henry. *Cott. Calig.* B vi., 63 B.M. and
Stevenson's *Illust. of Scottish History*.*

On Sunday I dined with the Queen; and all the dinner she passed the time very joyously with honourable communication of your Grace, and specially she inquired of your stature and goodly personage, with the great pain and labour that your Grace took in preparing your army for the sea, whereof she was right joyous to hear. And after dinner she set her down in a chair and had long communication with me; when I showed her that your Grace would pass the sea with your royal army into France; wherewith she was right heavy. Moreover I said that she was married into Scotland as a means to entertain perpetual peace betwixt both realms. Wherefore I prayed her to be a means at this time to the King her husband that he would keep the peace in your absence, according to the treaty; and she said she would do so to the best of her power, and she doubted not but he would so do, so that he might have justice. And therewith she asked me if your Grace had sent her legacy; and I said 'Yea,' which I was ready to deliver to her, so that the King would promise to keep the treaty of peace. And she asked, 'And not else?'; and I said 'No'; for if he would make war your Grace would not only withhold that, but also take from them the

* Stevenson gives the old pagination (f. 56), and Brewer the new (f. 63).

best towns they had. And before I had fully finished this sentence, the King came upon us, and so we broke communication for that time; and, after some communication for a pastime had, he went to the sermon; and that done, I departed for that night.

1513, April 1.—Of Nicolas West's interview with James at Stirling; and of the King's refusal to give a written agreement.

Cott. Calig. B. vi., 63 B.M.

On Monday Sir John Ramsey accompanied me to the Court; and before High Mass the King sent for me to his traverse,* and there he showed me the briefs monitory† and the bull executorial‡ that is come into England, laying all the fault thereof to the Cardinal of York,—howbeit he said it was by information given by your Grace and your Council. And I said it was not so, but the Pope did it of his own mere motion, by reason of such bruit as was made there,—howbeit I said by reason of the same bruit the Cardinal helped it forward. And then he said he would appeal from it, and send the bishop of Moray to Rome for the same, and to do his obedience to the new Pope.|| . . .

He said that if he were disposed to make your Grace war he would not tarry for the Pope's monition; but he saith he will never make you war

* A seat within lattice-work.

† One to James; another to the Bishop of Moray; and a third to the King of Denmark.

‡ Renewed by Leo X.

|| Julius II. died 20-21 Feb., 1513.

without he warn you before by his herald, so that you shall have time enough, though you were in France, to come and defend your own. And I said I was sure that there was no sentence given against him, but under condition that if he broke the peace; . . . and therefore there was nothing innovated that should need any such appeal. And also I said I knew not to whom he should appeal; and he answered, laughing, that he would appeal to Prester John. . . .

On Wednesday before noon, because I saw they began to trifle me forth, I went to the Court unsent for; and, as soon as the King knew that I was come into the chapel, he sent for me into his traverse, and said he was about to send the Secretary down to me; and so fell into conversation of his voyage to Jerusalem,* and commanded the Secretary to fetch such writings as he had of the French King for that purpose, that I might see what promise he had of him. And he brought forth a little book of four sheets of paper, sewed together, and signed at the end with the French King's hand, and sealed with his signet; wherein were made, by articles in French, all such answers as the French King made to the bishop of Moray when he was there, wherein, amongst others, he granteth him a whole tenth throughout all his realm and over this side and beyond the mountains, to be levied by the King of Scots . . . within a year after the peace is made. Also he granteth him a number of men of arms and footmen, and shipping

* Frequent allusion to this intended journey will be found in the *Epistolae*. *Ante* pp. 104-5.

convenient for the number of men that he will have with him. . . Wherefore he prayeth him to employ himself to the best he can to make the peace, and he will abide all conditions reasonable, and more than reasonable. And this read, the King said to me, 'Now you see wherefore I favour the French King, and wherefore I am loath to lose him; for if I do, I shall be never able to perform my journey.' And I answered that he had made him fair promises to send him forth, but he would never perform them. . .

After noon I prayed him to answer me expressly whereunto I should stand; and, when he saw my importunate labour, he withdrew him into a closet apart and called the Secretary and me to him; and there he said to me that he would keep the peace, so that your Grace would do likewise and do him justice. And I answered him, that, as for justice, your Grace was as well minded to it as he; and, if this should be his final answer and no other, I prayed him to write it to your Grace. And he said he would not, for you should have no letter of his, nor no new bond to shew in France, whereby he might lose the French King. . . . I showed him what inconvenience might ensue according to mine instructions; then he said to me eftsoons that he knew his mind well enough. I answered him that if I had gone I had known him and his mind both, but now I said I perceived that I knew neither of them both; wherewith he was sore moved and chafed mightily. And after a little pause I prayed him to give me a determinate answer in writing. And he said he had

but a letter of credence from you, and he would give me his answer by credence again ; and I said I was not his ambassador, wherefore I would not bear his credence. . . . After a little conversation he came somewhat to himself, and said if I would put that that I demanded in writing. And, to the intent he should so do, I said I would, and so departed.

[West was put off on the next day (Thursday, 31 March); and on the Friday (April 1) he received a like refusal in the presence of the Lords of Council.]

Then I devised him that I might write it and read it before him for my discharge ; and he said I should not, for he trusted me well enough ; and therewith the lords drew apart. And then he said very familiarly between him and me, and as it appeared very lovingly, these words : ‘ You know what promise the French King hath made me ; wherefore I will in nowise lose him. Therefore I speak sharply before my lords, for if I should do otherwise or write anything . . . my lords would certify it into France, and so I should lose the French King.’ . . . Moreover he said, if your Grace would make him the same promise that the French King hath done, he cared not to keep him. . . . And therewith he called his Secretary, and commanded him to make up my letter that I might see the minutes of them, and be delivered at afternoon. . . . Moreover I prayed him, if he would send any ambassador to your Grace, to send some substantial man . . . ; and he said that, if he so did, he was sure he should lose the French King. . . . Whether there be any craft in this

foresaid demeanour and answer I remit it to the great wisdom of your Highness and of your Council. . . I had lever your Grace had commanded me to tarry so long in Turkey, this country is so miserable (*miserable*), and the people so ungracious; and over that I shall have scant money to bring me home, the country is so dear.*

1513, April.—Henry in readiness.

Polydore Vergil, xxvii. 629.

So James refused, saying that it was not proper for him to explain his policy in a letter which might be intercepted, since it was his business to keep alive the friendship and intercourse with France. But the King of England was not to be deceived, for, imagining that care was necessary, he instantly sent Thomas, Earl of Surrey, to Yorkshire, where he should enlist an army and keep it in readiness to offer resistance, if there should be any sudden attack from the north. He diligently did as he had been instructed; but, afterwards finding that all was quiet within the Scottish border, he left garrisons at convenient places and returned to London.

* In a second letter, dated Edinburgh, April 13, West tells Henry that the letter which James had given him contained no answer to the proposal about peace, but was altogether about wrongs done to him and his realm. He importuned again; but James refused, because he would not endanger the French alliance, and because Henry had said that 'his words and deeds agreed not.' Moreover the brief sent to Henry by Julius II. 'had done more harm . . . than all the ambassadors that had ever come out of France.' He tells us that James gave him his dismissal 'with good will.' (See Ellis, I., i. 65.)

1513, April 11.—Queen Margaret's letter to Henry VIII.

Ellis, I., i. 64.

[This letter followed as a consequence of West's conversation with Queen Margaret.]

Right excellent, right high and mighty prince, our dearest and best beloved brother, we commend us unto you in our most hearty wise. Your ambassador Doctor West delivered us your loving letters, in which you show us, that, when you heard of our sickness, you took great heaviness. Dearest brother we are greatly rejoiced that we see you have respect to our disease ; and therefore we give you our hearty thanks, and your writing is to us good comfort. We cannot believe that of your mind or by your command we are so friendly dealt with in our father's legacy, whereof we would not have spoken nor written, had not the Doctor now spoken to us of the same in his credence. Our husband knows it is withheld for his sake, and will recompense us so far as the Doctor shewed him. We are ashamed therewith, and would God never word had been thereof. It is not worth such estimation as is in your divers letters of the same ; and we lack nothing. Our husband is ever the longer the better to us, as knows God, who, right high and mighty prince, our dearest and best beloved brother, have you in governance. Given under our signet at our Palace of Linlithgow, the 11th day of April.

Your loving sister,

MARGARET.

1513, April 13.—The Scottish naval preparations,

West to Henry VIII. Ellis, I., i. 67.

On Monday, because I had no business, for a pastime I went down to Leith, to the intent to see what ships were prepared there ; and when I came thither I found none but nine or ten small topmen,* amongst which the ship of Lynn was the biggest, and other small balangers† and crayers,‡ and never one of all these was rigged to the war, but one little topman of the burden of three score tons. And from thence I went to the New Haven;|| and there lieth the Margaret, a ship nigh of the burden of the Christ of Lynne, and many men working upon her, some setting on her maintop, and some calking her above water, for under water she was new tallowed. There was also upon the stocks a little galley in making, about fifty feet long as I suppose, which they said the King made to row up and down upon the water to and from Stirling: there is never a board yet upon her,

* Ships with tops, *i.e.* of largest size.

† Balanger or balinger (*Balengier*, Froissart) a species of sloop without forecastle. Lit. a whale-ship (O.F. baleiner) from *baleine*, a whale. Cf. Dunbar, 'Builders of barks and balingers,' &c., p. 220. (*Scot. Text Soc. Edit.*)

‡ Crayer, crear, or kreyer = a bark or lighter.

|| James IV. erected a dock at Newhaven for shipbuilding. The water was deep and gave good anchorage. On account of the great number of workmen engaged at the new arsenal, a chapel was erected, dedicated to the Virgin and *St. James*, which was known as *St. James's Chapel*.

nor never a man wrought upon her when I was there.*

1513, May 24.—James's endeavour to procure universal peace.

James to Henry VIII. Ellis, I., i. 76.

[The Spanish treaty to which James refers, was, as shown above, a piece of mere policy on the part of Ferdinand, who was now preparing the great league against France. The letter may be read in connection with those addressed to Denmark towards the end of 1512. Henry's answer has not been preserved.]

Right Excellent, &c. Our brother the Most Christian King of France, has lately written unto us that he and the Catholic King of Aragon have taken, on the 1st day of April last, truces to endure a whole year from the conclusion thereof for their realms on this side the mountains, as we doubt not you are informed and have the tenor of the same long before now; the copy whereof sent unto us, our herald, the bearer, has with him; in which the Emperor and you, for the part of the King of Aragon, and, for our brother of France's part, the Duke of Gueldres and we, as his kinsman, be expressed, if you and we like to stand comprehended at a certain day in the said truces prefixed, as is contained in them. Whereupon our brother of France has desired us to

* See Dacre to Hen. VIII. 24 Feb. 1513 (No. 3751) for a description of the preparations in Edinburgh Castle and on the Forth. Dacre learned that at Leith there were 13 great ships of 3 tops, 10 small ships, and the Ship of Lynn; and at Newhaven, two great ships, the Margaret and the James. John Ainslow, Governor of Norham Castle, in a letter to the Bishop of Durham (Sept. 11, 1512), mentions that the King of Scots can raise only 16 ships with tops.

enter in the said truces, if ye enter in the same. Wherefore we have sent unto you, as well to have knowledge if you enter in these truces or not, as to have your advice what you think we should do for our part; praying you, if you accept the same, to advertise us hastily, that we may help to treat a further amity and peace, as we have been always ready to do for universal peace in Christendom, and that we may cause our trusty councillor and ambassador, the Bishop of Moray, now in the parts beyond sea, do his utter business, the foresaid truces pending, for universal peace and expedition against the infidels. And surely, dearest brother, we think more loss is to you of your late admiral* who deceased to his great honour and laud, than the advantage might have been of the winning of all the French galleys and their equipage. The said late valiant knight's service and that of other noblemen, that must on both the sides apparently be perished, if war continue, were better applied upon the enemies of Christ. .

Praying you, dearest brother, to take our writings in good part, as our mind is, &c.

1513.—The Debate in the Scottish Council on the aid requested by France.

Boece. Lives of Bishops of Muthlac and Aberdeen.

By an edict of King Henry the VIII. war was declared on the French; and Louis sent ambassadors to James the Fourth, to ask for aid against the English in the coming war, and to take up arms

* Sir Edmund Howard, son of the Earl of Surrey, killed April 25, 1513.

against the ancient and common enemy, according to the treaty, which had stood for so many centuries, and had been confirmed by the deeds and authority of both nations. He imagined that when this would be accomplished, the strength of Henry (who, as he knew for certain, would cross very soon into France with a large army) would be more easily withstood.

James received the French ambassadors with regal pomp, and gave them a courteous audience. A council was summoned, and the demands of Louis were openly discussed. Some thought that ambassadors should be sent to Henry to intimate to him that he must abstain from attacking their French allies and from every injury against that nation, and, if they could not effect this purpose, to declare war on the English because of the covenant [with the French]; others, of whom the chief was Bishop William, fully aware of the disadvantages of war at this time, gave it as their opinion that they should not be headstrong in a matter of such great importance, and that there was need of great deliberation in such a crisis, lest Henry, a young king abounding (*exundans*) in his father's wealth (which was very great), and ruling a people eager for war and impatient of inaction, and whose riches had been increased by the long peace, . . . would turn against the Scots all the warlike preparations which he had made against the French. . . . Neither had the French such claims on the Scots, nor had the English done such injury, that they should take the field on behalf of the French against the English,

a nation both wealthy and warlike. They urged that an embassy should be sent rather to dissuade him as far as they could from a war against the French, a friendly people; and that they should wait the answer of Henry. Whereupon so great a clamour arose from those, who, having no experience of the disadvantages of war, were enthusiastic about the campaign yet to be tried, that order was with difficulty maintained. Much abuse was thrown openly on Bishop William . . . because he had spoken, like a crazy old man, stupidly and imprudently, against the public interest, and against the inviolable treaty and ancient promise. The former opinion was therefore agreed upon, William with the smaller but better part of the nobles of the kingdom making protest.

1513, May.*—The King at Linlithgow.

Pitscottie, p. 111.

The King came to Linlithgow, where he happened to be for the time at the Council, very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to God to send him good chance and fortune in his voyage. There came a man clad in a blue gown in at the kirk door, and belted about him in a roll of linen cloth, with a pair of brotikins † on his feet to the great of his legs, with all other hose and clothes conform thereto; but he had nothing on his head but long (*syde*) red yellow hair behind, and on his temples (*haffits*) which reached (*wan doren*), to his shoulders, and his forehead

* See the Treasurer's Accounts.

† Buskins or half-boots. (Fr. *brodequin*.)

was bald and bare. He seemed to be a man of two and fifty years, with a great pike-staff in his hand ; and he came first forward among the lords, crying and asking for the King, saying he desired to speak with him. At last he came where the King was sitting in the desk at his prayers ; but when he saw the King he made him little reverence or salutation, but leaned down grovelling on the desk before him, and said to him in this manner, as after follows. ‘Sir King, my mother hath sent me to you, desiring you not to pass at this time, where thou art purposed ; for if thou dost, thou wilt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee. Further, she bade thee meddle with no woman, nor use their counsel, nor let them touch thy body, nor thou theirs ; for if thou do it, thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame.’

By the time this man had spoken these words unto the King’s Grace, the evensong was near done ; and the King paused on these words, studying to give him an answer ; but in the meantime, before the King’s eyes, and in the presence of all the lords that were about him for the time, this man vanished away, and could no ways be seen nor comprehended, but vanished away as he had been a blink of the sun, or a whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen. I heard say Sir David Lyndsay, Lyon Herald, and John Inglis, the Marshal, who were at that time young men, and special servants to the King’s Grace, were standing then beside the King, who thought to have laid hands on this man that they might have

sought further tidings from him ; but all for nought ; they could not touch him, for he vanished away betwixt them, and was no more seen.

[‘ What rendered the occurrence more astonishing was, that of all those who stood nearest him, and who had observed him, and were desirous of putting many questions to him, no one perceived how he disappeared. Among these was Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, a man of unsuspected probity and veracity, attached to literature, and during life invariably opposed to falsehood, from whom unless I had received the story, as narrated, vouched as true, I had omitted to notice it, as one of the commonly reported fables.’ Buchanan, Bk. XIII., ch. 31. The tale is used by Scott in *Marmion*, Canto IV. (‘ Sir David Lyndsay’s Tale.’) This episode has been explained as a device of the Queen to stay her husband from setting out for England. The other and less authentic occurrence given by Pitscottie concerning the summons of Plateok may receive a like explanation.]

James will not yet break with Henry, but sends a Herald to him at Terouenne.

Polydore Vergil, xxvii. p. 639.

Meantime James, King of Scots, who had promised to give succour to France not only as far as conscience permitted, * as the saying hath it, but even a little way beyond, if occasion so demanded, when he heard that Henry had marched into France, by degrees got ready an army for the succour of his ally. The King of England, learning this through spies, straightway reminded James, by letters from himself and from Leo the Roman Pontiff, of his friendship and relationship and likewise of his oath ; and asked him to avow there and then whether he was

* Auxilio juvare Francum non modo usque ad aras.

a friend or a foe. He declared himself a friend to Henry, although chiefly restrained by the binding character of the covenant, on the one hand, and by his own and his people's profit, on the other, which he saw was daily increasing by the French connection. He therefore did not wish to lay bare his plans on such an important topic without good reason, and hoped that he should by no means be forced to stand in the way of his oath or his interest. Henry accordingly, on hearing this profession, continued more boldly the war which he had begun; but so little faith did he put in the words of James, that he forthwith sent Thomas, Earl of Surrey, to York to hold the district and to preserve it from attack, while he brought the French war to an end. . . . But King Louis, despairing of his own troops, began to urge, exhort, and beseech James by frequent messengers to make an attack on his English neighbours, and thus draw off the enemy from the hurt of his own realm, and force Henry to return home. James was moved by the request of his ally, but, that he might do things advisedly before undertaking an unjust war, he straightway sent a herald to Henry.

1513, Aug. 11.—His arrival in the English camp.

Hall, p. 545.

[Henry's army was at this time lying before Terouenne. He had just had a state interview with the Emperor Maximilian at Aire, a short distance to the east of Terouenne.]

After the King was returned to his camp, within a day or twain there arrived in the army a king-of-arms

of Scotland,* called Lyon, with his coat-of-arms on his back, and desired to speak with the King, who in short time was by Garter, chief king-of-arms, brought to the King's presence; where he, being almost dismayed seeing the King so nobly accompanied, with few words and meet good reverence delivered a letter to the King, who received the letter and read it himself.

James's Letter of Complaint.

Calig. B. vi., 57 : Hall, p. 545.

Cal. Henry VIII., No. 4351.

Right excellent, &c., We have received from Ross Herald your letters, whereunto you approve and allow the doings of your commissioners lately being with ours at the Borders of both the realms for making of redress. . . Also you write, slayers by sea ought not to appear personally, but by their attornies. And in your other letters with our herald Islay you ascertain us, you will not enter into the truce between the Most Christian King and your father of Aragon, because you and others of the whole league neither should nor may take peace, truce, nor abstinence of war with your common enemy, without consent of all the confederates; and further have denied safe conduct upon our request that a servitor of ours might have resorted to your presence . . . Right excellent, &c. the said meeting of our and your commissioners at the Borders was peremptorily appointed between you and us, after divers diets for reformation before continued

* See Taylor's *Diary*, *Calend. Hen. VIII.*, No. 4284, p. 624.

to the commissioners' meeting, to the effect that due redress should have been made at the said meeting; like as for our part our commissioners offered to have made that time. And for your part no malefactor was then arrested to the said diet. And to gloss the same you now write that slayers by sea need not appear personally, but by their attorneys, which is against the law of God and man. And, if in criminal action all slayers should not appear personally, no punishment should follow for slaughter; and then vain it were to seek further meetings for redress. And hereby appears, as the deed shows, that you will neither keep good ways of justice and equity nor kindness with us. The great wrongs and unkindness done before to us and our lieges we ponder over, which we have suffered this long time,—as in holding of the bastard Heron with his accomplices in your country who slew our Warden* 'under trust of days of meeting for justice'; . withholding of our wife's legacy, promised in your divers letters, for despite of us; slaughter of Andrew Barton by your own command, who then had nought offended you nor your lieges unredressed, and breaking of the amity in that behalf by your deed; and withholding of our ships and artillery to your use. Whereupon after our divers requisitions to your Wardens,

* Sir Robert Ker, Warden of the Middle Marches. He was murdered by John Heron the Bastard, Lilburn, and Starhed. William Heron of Ford (the Bastard's brother) and Lilburn were handed over to James, who imprisoned them in Fastcastle. The Bastard and Starhed lived on in England—the former till 1524, when he was slain in a foray.

commissioners, ambassadors, and yourself, you wrote, and as shewn by others unto us, that full redress should be made at the said meeting of commissioners; and so were in hope of reformation, or at least that you for our sake would have desisted from the invasion of our friends and cousins within their own countries that have not offended you, as we first required of you in favour of the Duke of Gueldres, whom to destroy and disinherit you send your folks. . . And so we lately desired for our brother and cousin the Most Christian King of France, whom you have caused to lose his country of Milan, and now invade him, who is with us in second degree of blood, and has been unto you kind without offence, and more kinder than to us. Notwithstanding, in defence of his person we must take part; and therefore you, because of others, have given occasion to us and to our lieges in time past, neither doing justly nor kindly towards us, proceeding always to the utter destruction of our nearest friends, who must do for us when it shall be necessary. . . And you say unto our herald that we give you fair words and think the contrary. Indeed such it is; we gave you words as you did us, trusting you should have made amendment, and should not have stopped our servitors' passage to labour peace, that they might as the Pope's Holiness exhorted us by his briefs to do. And we were contented to have overseen our harms, and to have remitted the same, though other information was made to our holy father Pope Julius by the Cardinal of York your

ambassador.* And since ye have now put us from all good belief . . , and especially in denying of safe conduct to our servants to resort to your presence, as your ambassador Doctor West instantly desired we should send one of our Council unto you upon great matters . . for furthering of peace if we might between the Most Christian King and you, (we never heard to this purpose safe conduct denied between infidels),—therefore we write to you this time at length plainness of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist from further invasion and utter destruction of our brother and cousin the Most Christian King, to whom . . we are bounden and obliged for mutual defence the one of the other, like as you and your confederates be obliged for mutual invasions and actual war ; certifying you we will take part in defence of our brother and cousin the Most Christian King. And we will do what thing we trust may cause you to desist from pursuit of him ; and for denied and posponed justice to our lieges we must give letters of marque according to the amity between you and us, whereto you have little regard in time past, as we have ordained our herald the bearer hereof to say, if it like you to hear him and give him credence. Right excellent, right high and mighty Prince, our dearest brother and cousin, the Trinity have you in keeping. Given under our signet at Edinburgh, the 26th day of July.

* Christopher Bainbridge.

1513, Aug. 11.—Henry's Defiance.

Hall, p. 547 ; Rymer, xiii., 312 ; Brewer,
No. 4397, from *Calig.*, B vi., 49 B. M.

Right excellent, &c. . . . We have received your writing . . . , wherein, after rehearsal and accumulation of many surmised injuries, griefs, and damages, done by us and our subjects to you and your lieges, the specialities whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembering that to them and every one of them in effect reasonable answer founded upon law and conscience hath before been made to you and your Council,* you not only require us to desist from further invasion and utter destruction of your brother and cousin the French King, but also certify us that you will take part in defence of the said King, with many contrived occasions and communications by you causelessly sought and imagined. . . . We cannot marvel, considering the ancient accustomed manner of your progenitors, who never kept longer faith and promise than pleased them. . . . The Pope and all Christian princes may well note in you dishonourable demeanour, when you lying in wait seek the ways to do that in our absence, which you would have been well advised to attempt, we being within our realm and present. And for the evident approbation hereof we need no other proofs nor witness but your own writings heretofore to us sent,

* On the 20th March, 1513, Henry wrote to West that, as regards redress of grievances, England had sustained three times as much damage as Scotland, and deserved greater compensation ; 'so that our Warden and Commissioners have sufficient grounds to content the Scots with reason.'

we being within our realm, wherein you never made mention of taking part with our enemy the French King, but passed the time with us till after our departure from our realm. And now perchance you, supposing us so far from our realm to be destitute of defence against your invasions, have uttered the old rancour of your mind which in covert manner you have long kept secret. Nevertheless we, remembering the brittleness of your promise, and suspecting, though not wholly believing, such unsteadfastness, thought it right expedient and necessary to put our said realm in readiness for resisting of your said enterprises, having firm trust in our Lord God, and the right witness of our cause. With the assistance of our confederates and allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of all schismatics and their adherents, being by the General Council expressly excommunicated and interdicted.

. . . And, if the example of the King of Navarre being excluded from his realm for assistance given to the French King cannot restrain you from this unnatural dealing, we suppose you shall have like assistance of the said French King, as the King of Navarre hath now, who is a King without a realm*; and so the French King peaceably suffereth him to continue, whereunto good regard would be taken.

. . . As touching your requisition to desist from farther attempting against our enemy the French

* So Skelton (*Against the Scottes*):—

Of the kynge of Naverne ye might take heed,
Ungraciously howe he dothe speede
An double dealyng; so he dyd dreame
That he is kynge, withoute a reame; &c.

King, we know you for no competent judge of so high authority to require us in that behalf; wherefore, God willing, we propose with the aid and assistance of our confederates and allies to prosecute the same; and as you do to us and our realm, so it shall be remembered and acquitted hereafter, by the help of our lord and our patron, Saint George,—who, right excellent, &c. Given under our signet in our camp before Terouenne, the 12th day of August.

1513, August.—The Ill Road.

Hall, p. 556., *Cf.* Ruthal to Wolsey in *Cal. Hen. VIII.* Nos. 4457 and 4460.

[This skirmish took place before Surrey had received the letter from Henry about James's challenge at Pomfret. Surrey, after parting with Henry at Dover, pushed northward; and, when he arrived at Doncaster, he ordered Sir William Bulmer forward to the Scottish Marches.]

After Sir William Bulmer was come to the Borders, one day in August, the Lord Chamberlain and Warden of Scotland, with seven or eight thousand men with banner displayed, entered into England, and burnt and harried a great prey in Northumberland. That hearing, Sir William Bulmer called to him the gentlemen of the Borders with his archers; and all they were not a thousand men. And, when they were assembled, they brought themselves into a broom field, called Millfield, where the Scots should pass. And, as the Scots proudly returned with their prey, the Englishmen broke out; and the Scots on foot like men them defended, but the archers shot so wholly together, that they made the Scots give place, and five or six hundred

of them were slain, and four hundred and more taken prisoners, and the prey rescued, besides a great number of geldings that were taken in the country; and the lord Home, Lord Chamberlain, fled, and his banner was taken. This was the first open token of war shewed by the Scots, who call this journey the Ill Road.

Aug. 22.—James enters England. The Sack of Norham Castle. Surrey's Advance.

Hall, p. 556. Polyd. Vergil., xxvii., 640.

MS. '*Batayle*,' p. 143.

After the King of Scots had sent his defiance to the King of England before Terouenne, he daily made his musters, and assembled his people over all his realm, whereof the bruit was that they were two hundred thousand—but for a surety they were an hundred thousand good fighting men at the least *—and with all his host and power entered into England and threw down piles, the 22nd day of August, and planted his siege before the castle of Norham, and sore abated the walls. The Earl of Surrey heard tidings thereof on the five and twentieth day of August, being St. Bartholomew's Day.†

Then he wrote to all the gentlemen of the shires, to be with him at Newcastle, the first day of September next, with all their retinue according to the certificate. On the morrow he with his five hundred men came to

* This is an amplification of Polydore Vergil's statistics. He gives the number as 60,000. The title page of MS. '*Batayle*' bears the number given by Hall.

† See Taylor's *Diary*. *Calend. Hen. VIII.*, No. 4284, p. 625.

York, and on the 26th day he went towards Newcastle ; and, notwithstanding that he had the foulest day and night that could be, and the ways so deep, in so much that his guide was almost drowned before him, yet he never ceased, but kept on his journey, to give example to them that should follow. He being at Durham was advertised how the King of Scots with his great ordnance had raised the walls of the Castle of Norham, and made three great assaults three days together ; and the captain valiantly defended him, but he spent vainly so much of his ordnance, bows, and arrows, and other munitions, that at the last he lacked, and so was at the sixth day compelled to yield him simply to the King's mercy. This castle was thought impregnable, if it had been well furnished ; but the Scots, by the indiscreet spending of the captain, took it in six days. This chance was more sorrowful to the Earl than to the Bishop, the owner of the same.* All the night the wind blew courageously : wherefore the Earl doubted lest the lord Howard's son, great admiral of England, should perish that night on the sea, who promised to land at Newcastle with a thousand men, to accompany his father ; which promise he accomplished.

1513, Aug. 24.—The Parliament at Twiselhaugh.

Acts of Parl. of Scotland, II., 278.

At Twiselhaugh, in Northumberland, the 24th day of August, 1513, it is statute and ordained by the

* Thomas Ruthal, Bishop of Durham, in his letters to Almoner Wolsey, nevertheless speaks of 'his great sorrow and pensiveness,' which the news of the sack of his castle had caused.

King's Highness, with the advice of all his lords being there for the time in his host, in this form as after follows, that is to say, if any man be slain or hurt to death in the King's army and host by Englishmen, or dies in his army during the time of his host, his heirs shall have his ward, relief, and marriage of the King free, dispensing with his age whatever age that he be of; and ordains the King's letters to be directed hereupon to the effect aforesaid.

1513, Sept. 7.—Preparations for Battle.

Hall, p. 560. *MS.* 'Batayle,' p. 144.

Cal. Henry VIII. No. 4439.

[Surrey sent Rouge Croix Herald to the Scottish army with certain instructions. He was detained by James, and Islay Herald was sent in return to the English camp where he had an interview with Surrey at the village near by, on the morning of the 6th of September. He promised that his master would agree to the proposition of the English leader 'to abide for battle between that and Friday next.' Meanwhile as Rouge Croix had not returned Islay was lodged with York Herald in the village.]

Then the Earl joyous of the King's answer returned to his camp, and set forward five miles, to a place called Woolerhaugh, in such order of battle as even then he should have fought, and there lodged for that night, three little miles from the King of Scots; and between the King and him was a goodly and large cornfield called Milfield, which was a convenient and fair ground for two hosts to fight on, that each host might perceive the other

The morrow being Wednesday, the 7th day of the month, the King of Scots caused his great ordnance

to be shot at the English army; but it hurt neither man nor beast. When the King of Scots saw that Islay was detained, he sent away Rouge Croix to the Earl, by whom and others of the Borders the Earl was advertised that the King lay upon the side of a high mountain, called Flodden, on the edge of Cheviot, where was but one narrow field for any man to ascend up the said hill to him, and at the foot of the hill lay all his ordnance. On the one side of his army was a great marsh, and compassed with the hills of Cheviot, so that he lay too strong to be approached of any side, except that the Englishmen would have temerariouſly run on his ordnance. Which matter well considered by the Earl and his son and others of the Council there, they called to them Rouge Crosse, and sent him the next day to the King of Scots, willing him to shew the King, that the said Earl, with divers of the King's nobles and subjects, had advanced themselves to give battle to his Grace, trusting that according to his promise he would advance himself and his army to join the battle, which as yet he hath not done.

.

Then the Englishmen removed their field on the water of Till, and so forth over many hills and narrow passes (*streets*) marching toward the Scots on another side; and in their sight the Scots burned certain poor villages on the other side of the marsh.

The Englishmen, always leaving the Scottish army on the left hand, took their field under a woodside, called Barmoorwood, two miles from the Scots. And

between the two armies was the river of Till; and there was a little hill that saved the Englishmen from the gunshot, on which hill the Lord Admiral perfectly saw and discovered them all. . . .

On Friday the ninth day, the Lord Admiral like a valiant knight passed over Twysell Bridge with the vanguard, marching towards his enemies; like diligence was made by the Earl for passing over at Millfield with the rear. . . .

The King of Scots, perceiving the Englishmen marching toward Scotland, thought that they would have entered into Scotland to burn and foray the plentiful country called the March, for so was he made believe by an Englishmen named Giles Musgrave,* who was familiar with the King of Scots, and did it for a policy to cause him to come down from the hill. Wherefore the said King caused his tents to be removed to another hill in great haste, lest the Englishmen should have taken the same hill; and at their departing they set fire to their litter and other filthy ordure according to their custom, and of the fire and smoulder did rise such a smoke so thick and so dark that the one host could not perceive the other, —for the wind did drive the smoke between the two armies— the Scots ever keeping the height of the hill on the edge of the Cheviot; and the Englishmen passed forward still in the low ground, and ever in

* This Giles the 'guileful Greek' of the verses entitled 'Flodden Field' may have been related to Mrs. Musgraeffe (wife of Sir John Musgrave), one of Queen Margaret's English ladies-in-waiting, described in Dunbar's 'Dance in the Queen's Chalmer.' (*Scot. Text. Soc.* edit. p. 200).

the covert of the smoke, insomuch that both the hosts were very near together within the space of a quarter of a mile, before one of them could perceive another for the smoke. Then when the Englishmen had passed a little brook called Sandyford, which is but a man's step over, and that the smoke was passed, and the air fair and clear, each army might plainly see one another at hand. Then the Lord Admiral perceived four great battalions (*battles*) of the Scots, all on foot with long spears like Moorish pikes, which Scots furnished them warlike, and bent them to the vanguard (*forward*), which was conducted by the Lord Admiral, who perceiving that sent to his father the Earl of Surrey his *Agnus Dei* that hung at his breast, that in all haste he would join battle, even with the brunt or breast of the vanguard, for the forward alone was not able to encounter the whole battle of the Scots. The Earl, perceiving well the saying of his son, and seeing the Scots ready to descend the hill, advanced himself and his people forward, and brought them equal in ground with the forward on the left hand, even at the brunt or breast of the same at the foot of the hill called Branxton. The English army stretched east and west, and their backs north : and the Scots in the south before them on the foresaid hill called Branxton.

1513, Sept. 9.—Flodden Field.

Ibid. MS. '*Batayle*,' p. 147.

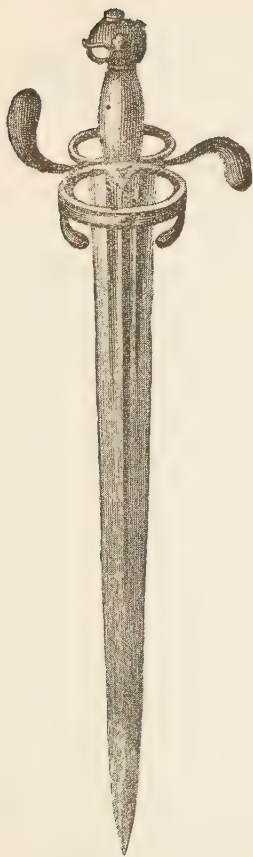
Then out burst the ordnance on both sides with fire, flame, and hideous noise ; and the master gunner

of the English part slew the master gunner of Scotland, and beat all his men from their ordnance, so that the Scottish ordnance did no harm to the Englishmen; but the Englishmen's artillery shot into the midst of the King's battle and slew many persons,—which seeing, the King of Scots and his noblemen made the more haste to come to joining; and so all the four battles in manner descended the hill at once. And after the shot was done, which they defended with pavishes,* they came to hand-strokes; and they were encountered severally, as you shall hear.†

First, on the English side next the west, was Sir Edmund Howard, knight, Marshal of the host, chief captain of a wing on the right hand of our vanguard; and he was encountered by the Chamberlain of Scotland with his battle of spears on foot, to the number of ten thousand at the least, which fought valiantly, so that they by force caused the little wing to fly. And the same Sir Edmund was three times felled to the ground, and was left alone, save his standard bearer, and two of his servants; to whom came John Heron, the Bastard, sore hurt, saying 'there was never noble man's son so like to be lost as you be this day: for all my hurts I shall here live and

* The pavish was a large shield. Other forms of the word were *pavis* and *pavail* (*pavesium*). The dimin. was *pavoisine*. The Bohemians had a long shield, with a ridge down their whole length to receive the arm, called *poweca*, which was said to have been the invention of Ziska. See Meyrick, II., 244.

† Hall gives a much more detailed account of the battle than Polydore Vergil.



SWORD OF JAMES IV. CARRIED AT FLONDE
Preserved in the Heralds' College, London.

die with you.' And there the said Sir Edmund Howard was in a great danger and jeopardy of his life, and hardly escaped ; and yet, as he was going to the body of the vanguard, he met with David Home,* and slew him with his own hand, and so came to the vanguard.

Secondly, eastward from the said battle was the Lord Admiral of the vanguard, with whom were encountered the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, accompanied by many lords, knights, and gentlemen, all with spears on foot ; but the Lord Admiral and his company acquitted themselves so well, and that with pure fighting, that they brought to ground a great number ; and both the earls were slain.

Thirdly, eastward from the Lord Admiral was the Earl of Surrey, captain general, to whose standard the King of Scots in his own person marched, being accompanied with many bishops, earls, barons, knights, and gentlemen of the realm, with a great number of commons, all chosen men, with spears on foot, who were the most assuredly harnessed that hath been seen, and that the tallest and goodliest personages withal ; and they abode the most dangerous shot of arrows, which annoyed them sore, and yet, except it hit them in some bare place, it did them no hurt. After the shot ended, the battle was cruel ; none spared the other, and the King himself fought valiantly. O what a noble and triumphant courage was this for a king to fight in a battle as a mean soldier. But what availed his strong harness,

* Brother of the Chamberlain.

the puissance of his mighty champions with whom he descended the hill, in whom he so much trusted, that with his strong people and great number of men he was able, as he thought, to have vanquished that day the greatest prince of the world, if he had been there as the Earl of Surrey was, or else he thought to do such an high enterprise himself in his person, that should surmount the enterprises of all other princes! But howsoever it happened that God gave the stroke, and he was no more regarded than a poor soldier, for all went one way.* So that of his own battle none escaped, but Sir William Scot, knight, his Chancellor, and Sir John Forman, knight, his sergeant porter, who were taken prisoners, and with great difficulty saved. This may be a great mirror to all princes, how that they adventure themselves in such a battle.

Fourthly, eastward was Sir Edward Stanley, knight, captain of the left wing with the said Earl, who clamb up to the top of the hill called Branxton ere the Scots wist, and with them encountered the Earls of Huntley, Lennox, and Argyle, with a great number of Scots who were sore fought withal,—which perceiving the earl of Huntley took a horse and saved himself. If he had tarried he had been likely to have gone with his company. Such as fled the said Sir Edward and his people followed them over the same ground, where the Earl's battle first

* 'He thus paid a heavier penalty for his perfidy than we would have wished.'—Henry VIII. to Max. Sforza, Sept. 16. See Brown's *Venet. Papers*, Vol. II.

joined, and found there the Scots, who were by the Earl's battle slain before, and suddenly left the chase, and fell a spoiling, and spoiled the King of Scots, and many that were slain in his battle ; but they knew him not, and found a cross and certain things



DAGGER OF JAMES IV. CARRIED AT FLODDEN.
(Preserved in the Heraults' College, London.)

of his. By reason whereof some said that he was slain by that wing, which could not be true ; for the prisoners of Scotland testified that the King's battle fought only with the Earl's battle. But for a truth this wing did very valiantly ; wherefore it was thought that the said Sir Edward might that day not have been missed.

All these four battles in manner fought at one time, and were determined in effect, little in distance

of the beginning and ending of any of them one before the other, saving that of Sir Edward Stanley, which was the last that fought; for he came up to the top of the hill, and there fought with the Scots valiantly, and chased them down the hill over that place where the King's battle joined. Beside these four battles of the Scots were two other battles, which never came to handstrokes.

With the said King were slain*—

The Archbishop of St. Andrews†; the Bishop of the Isles; the Abbots of Inchaffray and Kilwinning (*Kyiveny*); the Earls of Montrose, Crawford, Argyle, Lennox, Glencairn (*Glencarre*), Caithness, Cassillis (*Castellis*), Bothwell, Erroll (Constable of Scotland), Addill,‡ Athol, and Morton; the Lords Lovat, Forbes, Elveston, Ross (Ross of Halkhead), Inderby (Thomas Stewart of Innermath), Sinclair (Henry, Lord Sinclair), Maxwell and his four brethern, Darnley, Sempill, (John, Lord Semple), Borthwick, Bogony, § Arskyll [*Robert, Lord Erskine?*], Blacader, and Cowny; and these Knights and Gentlemen, Sir John Douglas,

* See MS. 'Batayle,' p. 149.

† The King's natural son by Mary Boyd (see Appendix). The young prelate had shown himself an apt pupil under Panter in Scotland and Erasmus on the Continent. (See pp. 74 and 75). See also *Epistolae Regum Scotorum*, and Gairdner, II., 266.

‡ Probably a corruption of *Athol*.

|| William, 3rd Lord Borthwick.

§ *Bargeny* in the Poem of 'Flodden Field.'

Cuthbert Home of Fastcastle, Sir Alex. Seton, Sir David Home, Master John Grant, Sir Duncan Caufelde (Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy), Sir Saunder Lauder, Sir George Lauder, Master Marshall, Master Keye, Master Elliot, Master Cowell,* the Dean of Ellester, † MacKean, ‡ MacLean (*Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart*), and other gentlemen || who be unknown, § because no officer of arms of Scotland would come to make search for them. And if the day had been longer by three hours (for it was four of the clock at afternoon before the battles joined), or if the Englishmen had had victuals, so that they might have bidden still together, they had not only made the greatest distress of Scots by death and taking, that the like hath not been seen in one day, but also within a little while might have put the realm of Scotland in such a misery and trouble, that for ever they should have been ware how to enter the realm of England, and specially the King being absent. For

* Clerk of the Chancery (in the *Gazette* —Le Sr. de Colwyn).

† Perhaps Dean of *Glasgow*, who fell at the battle.

‡ Sir Malkin Kean in 'Flodden Field'; in the *Gazette* Illakeen.

|| Lorenzo Pasqualigo, in a letter to his brother in Venice, Oct. 13, 1513, looks at the losses in another way. 'These are the names of the only four lords remaining alive in Scotland:—the Lord Treasurer, Lord Hamilton, Earl of Murray (?), and Lord Herries (?).'—See Brown's *Venetian Papers*, vol. II.

§ The Earls of Huntley, and Rothes were slain; including them, 13 earls fell at Flodden. The Bishop of Caithness, and the French Ambassador De la Motte also perished.

the Englishmen wanted no good-will,* for of the Scots they slew twelve thousand at the least of the best gentlemen and flower of Scotland; and of the English side were slain and taken not fifteen hundred men, as it appeared by the book of wages when the soldiers were paid. . . .

After that the field was fought and the Scots fled, many Englishmen followed them into Scotland, and were so far that they wist not which way to return, and so were taken prisoners by the Scots that were in the two battles that fled first and never fought. Also divers were taken by the Lord Chamberlain of Scotland, who fought with the wing of Sir Edmund Howard, and were carried with him, to the number of sixty. Of the Scots that fled, some passed over the water of Tweed at Coldstream ford, and others by the dry marches, during the time of the fight; and, the night after, many men lost their horses, and such stuff as they left in their tents and pavilions, by the robbers of Tynedale and Tweeddale.

The finding of the King's body.

Ibid.

This King had divers deadly wounds, and in especial one with an arrow, and another with a bill, as appeared when he was naked. After that the body of the King of Scots was found and brought to Berwick, the Earl showed it to Sir William Scott, his Chancellor, and Sir John Forman, his serjeant porter, who knew him at the first sight, and made great lamentation. Then was the body disembowelled,

* See Ruthal's letter, p. 175.



STANDARD OF THE EARL MARSHALL CARRIED AT FLODDEN.

(Preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.)

embalmed, and cered,* and secretly amongst other stuff conveyed to Newcastle. And the same day the Lord Admiral came to the field, and there some Scots appeared on a hill; but William Blackenall, who was the chief doer and ruler of all the ordnance, shot such a peal, that the Scots fled, or else the Lord Admiral had been in great jeopardy.† . . Then the Earl brought the body to Richmond.‡

1513, Sept. 9.—Another Account.

[The following is taken from the *State Papers of Henry VIII. relating to Scotland*, vol. IV. p. 1. It is entitled: 'Articles of the Battle between the King of Scots and the Earl of Surrey in Brankston Field, the 9th day of Sept.' A French version is printed in Pinkerton II., p. 456.]

First, when both the armies were within three miles together, the Earl sent Rouge Cross to the King of Scots, desiring him of battle; and he answered he would abide him there till Friday at noon.

The lord Howard at 11 of the clock the said 9th day passed over the bridge of Twyssell with the

* Covered with wax.

† Cf. Queen Catherine's letters to Henry and Wolsey (Ellis, I. i. 88 *et seq.*).

‡ 'Then it was carried to London, to the monastery of the Carthusian monks at Bethlehem.' Polyd. Verg., xxvii., p. 642. Leo. X. in a letter to Henry VIII. 29th Nov. 1513 [*Cotton. Vitell. B. 2*, 54] gave permission for the interment in holy ground at St. Paul's Cathedral; but nothing seems to have been done. Stow in his *Survey of London*, p. 539, says that since the dissolution of the house of Shene in the reign of Edward VI. the body lay 'lapped in lead' in a waste room amongst old timber and rubble. 'Since the which time, workmen there,

vanguard and artillery, and the said Earl following with the rear. The army was divided into two battles ;* and to either battle two wings.

The King of Scots' army was divided into five battles, and every battle an arrow shot from the other, and all like farness from the English army, in great 'plumpes,'† part of them quadrant, and some pikewise ; and they were on the top of the hill, being a quarter of a mile from the foot thereof.

The lord Howard caused his vaward to stay in a little valley, till the rear were joined to one of the wings of his battle ; and then both wards ‡ in one front advanced against the Scots, and they came down the hill, and met with them in good order, after the German manner, without speaking of any word.

The earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, with their host of 6000 men, came upon the lord Howard ; and shortly their backs were turned, and the most part of them slain.

The King of Scots came with a great puissance upon my lord of Surrey, having on his left hand my for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head ; and Lancelot Young, master glazier to Queen Elizabeth, feeling a sweet savour to come from thence, and seeing this same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the hair of the head and beard red, brought it to London, to his house in Wood Street, where for a time he kept it for its sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of that church [St. Michael's], to bury it amongst other bones taken out of their charnel.'

* Battalion, squadron.

† The French version has 'troupeaulx.'

‡ *I.e.* rearguard and vanguard.

lord Darcy's son; which two bare all the brunt of the battle; and there the King of Scots was slain within a spear length from the said Earl of Surrey, and many noblemen of the Scots slain more, and no prisoners taken in those two battles. And in the time of this battle the earls of Lennox and Argyll with their puissances joined with Sir Edward Stanley, and they were put to flight.

Edmund Howard had with him 1000 Cheshire men, and 500 Lancashire men, and many gentlemen of Yorkshire, on the right wing of the lord Howard; and the lord Chamberlain of Scotland* with many lords, did set on him; *and the Cheshire and Lancashire men never abode stroke, and few of the gentlemen of Yorkshire abode, but fled.* Mr. Gray and Sir Humphrey Lyle be taken prisoners, and Sir Wynchard Harbottle and Maurice Berkeley slain. And the said Edmund Howard was thrice felled; and to his relief the lord Dacre's son came with 1500 men, and put to flight all the said Scots, and had about eight score of his men slain; in which battle a great number of Scots were slain.

The battle and conflict began betwixt 4 and 5 in the afternoon; and the chase continued three miles with marvellous slaughter; and 10,000 more had been slain if the Englishmen had been on horseback.

The Scots were 80,000, and about 10,000 of them were slain; and under 400 Englishmen were slain.†

* Alexander, Lord Home.

† The following passage is scored out in the text:—The Borderers not only stole away, as they lost, four or five thousand

The English and Scottish ordnance is conveyed, by the good help of the lord Dacre, unto Etal castle.

The King of Scots' body is brought to Berwick. There is no great man of Scotland returned home but the Chamberlain. It is thought that few of them be left alive.

A Minstrel's Story.

[A companion picture to the preceding accounts is found in a contemporary Cheshire alliterative poem, 'The Scottish Field,' preserved among the Lyme MSS. Although the extant MS. dates no further back than 1570, there is reason to believe that the original was penned about 1515. For the historical value of the composition see the introduction to the poem in the 2nd volume of the *Chetham Miscellanies*.]

Then full boldly on the broad hills
 we bushed* with our standards ;
 And on a sough† us beside
 there saw we our enemies,
 Were moving over the mountains ;
 to match us they thought,
 As boldly as any burnes‡
 that born were of mothers.
 And we eagerly with ire

horses, but also they took away the oxen that drew the ordnance ; and came to the pavilions, and took away all the stuff therein, and killed many that kept the same. (Brewer, I. 444l., p. 668. n.) See Ruthal's letter, p. 176.

* Pushed.

† Shaw, thicket ?

‡ Warriors.

atylde* them to meet.
 Then trumpets full truly
 they trident† together;
 Many shalms in that shaw
 with their shrill notes!
 Heavenly was their melody,
 their mirth to hear!
 How they sang with a shout
 all the shaws over.
 There was a gurdung forth of guns
 with many great stones;
 Archers uttered out their arrows
 and eagerly they shot.
 They proched‡ us with spears,
 and put many over,
 That the blood out burst
 at their broken harness!
 There was swinging out of swords,
 and swapping§ of heads.
 We blanked¶ them with bills,
 through all their bright armour,
 That all the dale dinned
 of their derf¶ strokes.
 Then betide a check

* Addressed ourselves, prepared.

† An alliterative and onomatopoeic word for which it is difficult to find a modern equivalent.

‡ Approached.

§ Striking.

¶ Perhaps=disconcerted.

¶ Strong.

that Cheshire men befell.*
 In wing with those wees †
 was my lord Dacres ;
 He fled at the first brade, ‡
 and they followed after :
 When their Captain was away,
 their comfort was gone ;
 They were wont at all wars
 to wait upon the Stanleys ;
 They never failed at no forward
 that time that they were
 Now lost is their loss ;
 our Lord it amend !

When the Scots and the Caterans ||
 saw our men scatter,
 They had great joy of their joining,
 and jolily came downward.
 Then the Scottish King
 calleth to him a herald,
 Biddeth tell him the truth,
 and tarry no longer—
 Whose were the banners of the burns
 that bode in the valley.
 “ They are standards of the Stanleys,
 that stand by themselves.”

* Orig. ‘ felden ’ = felled. For the episode referred to in the text see p. 165.

† Men.

‡ Onset.

|| Orig. Ketterickes.

Then the Scottish King
 carped these words :
 “ I will fight with yonder freakes *
 that are so fierce holden.
 If I beat those burns,
 the battle is ours.”
 Then he moved towards the mountains,
 and manly came downwards.
 We met him in the midway,
 and matched him full even.
 Then there was dealing of dents,
 that all the dales rung.
 Many helms with heads
 were hewn all to pieces !
 This layke † lasted on the land
 the length of four hours.
 Yorkshire like yorne ‡ men
 eagerly they fought ;
 So did Derbyshire that day,
 dered many Scots ;
 Lancashire like lions
 laid them about !
 All had been lost, by our Lord,
 had not these lads been.||
 But the case of the Scots
 increased full sore .

* A contemptuous epithet. See Gawin Douglas.—Prologue to the 8th Book of the *Æneid*.

† Strife. Lit. sport (O.E. lac.).

‡ Eager ?

|| Compare this with the preceding account.

For the King was down knocked,
and killed in their sight.

Then they fetilde * them to fly,
as fast as they might ;
But that served not, forsooth,
who so truth telleth,
Our Englishmen fully eagerly
After them followed,
And killed them like caitiffs
in clowest† all about.

All the Scots that were scaped
were scattered far asunder.
They removed over the moor
upon the next morning,
And their stood like stakes,
and stir durst no further ;
For all the lords of their land
were left them behind !
Beside Branxton in a brook
breathless they lie,
Gaping against the moon ;
their ghosts went away !

The advantages on the side of the Scots.

Thomas Ruthal, Bishop of Durham, to Wolsey.
20 Sept., 1513. *Nat. MSS. of England*, vol. II.

. . . On the 9th day of this instant month of
September, after a marvellous great conflict and

* Got ready.

† Cleughs, ravines.

terrible battle, the King of Scots with the greatest part of the lords and nobles of his realm were in plain battle vanquished, overthrown, and slain. . . . Specially remembering the multitude of their enemies, being far in number above the King's army; considering also the great number of marvellous large pieces of ordnance, as curtaulds, culverins, sacres, and serpentines, amounting in the whole to 17 great pieces, besides much other small ordnance; regarding also the great and strong personages of the Scots, being as well furnished with goodly harness, weapons, and other habiliments of war as ever men were, with their abundance of victuals, wines of all sorts, bread, beer and ale, tents and pavilions, far above our estimation, and not lightly credible, unless it had been seen, tasted, and viewed by our folks to their great refreshing;* and over that the hardiness and sharp setting on of the said Scots, with the discomfort and feebleness of our people, being destitute of victuals, and having nothing to drink but only water for the space of three days, and much scarcity of that, with the marvellous great pain and labour that they took in going 8 miles that day on foot by dangerous and painful passages over hills and dales, and yet, most danger of all, in ascending and climbing an high and steep hill to en-

* See also 2nd letter to Wolsey, Sept. 20th, 1513. The account given in the *Proceed. Antig. (Scot)*, VII., 151, says: 'Albeit that our army, doubting that the said victuals had been poisoned for their destruction, would not save but utterly them destroyed.'

counter and give battle to the King of Scots, being there encamped, and his ordnance set to his most advantage and annoyance of our army ; and the said Scots having the hill, the wind, and the sun with them . . ; it is to be thought this victory proceedeth more by the very hand of God, with the help and merits of the glorious Confessor, Saint Cuthbert. . . For, besides the King of Scots, all the lords of Scotland, except five, and the most part of the noblemen of the same which that day died, there were ten thousand Scots slain ; and, as some of them affirm, they lack fifteen thousand in the whole, to the utter confusion of all Scotland.

Of the heroic fighting of the Scots.

Ibid.

The said Scots were so surely harnessed with complete harness, German jacks (*jackes almayn*),* rivets,† splents,‡ pavishes,|| and other habiliments,

* Leather tunics. (O. Fr. *jaque* ; Dutch, *jakke*.)

† ‘Moveable rivets, first made in Germany, whence the armour to which they were applied was so called. . . In order that the head might remain steady, notwithstanding the force of any blow that might be given on the breast-plate or helmet, it was usual for the armourers to attend and close the rivet up which came through the bottom of the tilting helmet.’—*Cf.* Shakespeare’s *Henry V.* iv. i.

The armourers accomplishing the knights

With busy hammers closing rivets up.

See Meyrick, II., 263.

‡ Splents were composed of little plates that ran over each other and defended the inside of the arm. Meyrick, II., 292, n. They were put on the leg as well as the arm.

|| See p. 156.

that shot of arrows in regard did them no harm ; and when it came to hand strokes of bills and halberds, they were so mighty, large, strong, and great men that they would not fall when four or five bills struck on one of them at once. Howbeit our bills quitted them very well, and did more good that day than bows, for they shortly disappointed the Scots of their long spears wherein was their greatest trust ; and when they came to hand stroke, though the Scots fought sore and valiantly with their swords, yet they could not resist the bills that lighted so thick and so sore upon them.*

The Same.

'Batayle' MS., Proceed. of Antiq. (Scot.), vii. 50r.

It is not to be doubted but the Scots fought manfully, and were determined either to win the field or to die. They were also as well appointed as was possible at all points with arms and harness, so that few of them were slain with arrows ; howbeit the bills did beat and hew them down with some pain and danger to Englishmen.

The said Scots were so plainly determined to abide battle and not to flee, that they put from them their horses, and also put off their boots and shoes, and fought in the vampst† of their hose, every man for

* Cf. Poem of 'The Scottish Field,' ante p. 167.

† 'Vampy—the bottoms of hose or gaiters attached to the hose covering the feet. Grose has vampers—stockings.'—Halliwell. O. F. Vant-pie. Cotgrave, avant-pied (Morris.) Cf. *Ancien Rievle*. 'Ine sumer ye habbeth leave uorto gon and sitten baruot, and hosen withuten vamps.' The Scots doffed their boots rather because of the softness of the ground after the great rain than on account of the blood, as is sometimes stated.

the most part with a keen and a sharp spear five yards long, and with a target before him. And when their spears failed and were spent, then they fought with great and sharp swords, making little or no noise, without that for the most part, except when any of them would desire to be saved.*

The Banner of St. Cuthbert.

Ruthal to Wolsey (cont.)

There were that day many good and toward captains who did their parts right well: howbeit the lord Howard was the first setter on, and took most pain in conducting the vaward of the English army, to whom joined Saint Cuthbert's banner with the whole retinue of the bishopric; and albeit the Scots had most disrespect to the said banner and set most fiercely upon it, yet what by the grace of God,

* In the old poem of Flodden Field, which contains some minute and valuable information, mention is made of leaden *mells* or mallets, *e.g.*

The one Craufurd called, the other Montrose,
 Who led twelve thousand Scottismen strong,
 Who manfully met with their foes,
 With leaden mells, and lances long.
 There battering blows made sallet sound;
 There many a sturdy stroke was given;
 And many a baron brought to ground;
 And many a banner broad was riven.

(p. 108, ed. Weber.)

The English archers used mallets in the time of Louis XII.—Marquis de Fleurange, quoted by Meyrick, II., p. 284. In the *Treasurer's Accounts* there are references to 'plumbis' or 'ledin mellis.'

the assistance of St. Cuthbert to his banner, and the valiantness of the captains and others being under the same, there got they no advantage but great loss and damage of their folks; and yet few or none being under the same banner were slain, though many hurt. Thus with great honour is Saint Cuthbert's banner returned again to his church, bringing with it the King of Scots' banner, which for a memorial now standeth beside the shrine there. And the said King was not far from his banner when he was slain.

The great shedding of blood by the English.*

bid.

And besides this all the great ordnance† of Scotland is taken and resteth at Berwick with divers prisoners, but not many, for our folks, intending to make all things sure, took little regard in taking of prisoners, but rid all that came to hand, both King, bishops, lords, knights, nobles, and others, whatsoever came. They were no sooner slain, but forthwith despoiled of their harness and array, and left lying naked in the field, where men might have seen a marvellous number of goodly men well fed and fat, among which

*Cf. Hall's account above. See also '*Batayle*' MS., *Proceed. of Antiq. (Scot.)* vii. 150.

† Ruthal's 3rd letter to Wolsey (Sept. 20th, 1513).—'I supposed the ordnance of the King of Scots had been conveyed to Berwick, but I here say it is yet at Etall; wherein must be some danger, notwithstanding that the Lord Dacre hath enterprised the surety of that matter. For it were too great a loss if it should miscarry, as God defend. *It is the fairest and best that lately hath been seen.*'

number was the King of Scots' body found, having many wounds and naked; and the same was brought to my Lord Treasurer then being in Berwick, in whose keeping the same body yet resteth.*

The English Camp plundered.

Ibid.

And yet, when our captains and folk had thus well acquitted themselves, great displeasure was done unto them, for, in their absence from their tents, they being occupied with the Scots, all their goods, horses, and necessities were clearly taken away. But whether it were done by Scots or Borderers I cannot say; but the bruit is that the Borderers did full ill. I pray God amend them, for by this dealing our folks were worse discouraged at their departing thence, than by all the harm done to them by the Scots. . . . If it were God's pleasure and the King's, I would all the horsemen on the Borders were in France with you, for there should they do much good; whereas here they do none, but much harm, for they never lighted from their horses; but, when the battles joined, then fell they to rifling and robbing, as well on our side as of the Scots. . . . And they took divers prisoners of ours, and delivered them to the Scots; so that our folks as much fear the falsehood of them as they do

* In the third letter to Wolsey (No. 4462 Cal.), Sept. 20, 1513: 'My lord Treasurer hath the body of the King of Scots with him to York, and I could in no wise induc him to leave it here at Durham, howbeit my folks under St. Cuthbert's banner brought his banner, his sword, his cuisses (*greyshys*), that is to say, the barness for his thighs, which be in St. Cuthbert's Church.'

the Scots, and this I fear will be the stop of the good matter.

Of the Bishop of Moray.

Ibid.

. . And for a truth I have spoken with divers prisoners of Scotland, as Sir William Scot, who is here with Sir William Bulmer, my sheriff, and divers others; and they say that, after the King of Scots meddled with Norham, 20,000 of his men went away from him, thinking verily that a mischief would follow upon that act, wishing that they had never meddled with the said castle.* The said Sir William affirmeth and confesseth also that this invasion of the King of Scots proceeded from his own sensual mind by the instigation of the Bishop of Moray, contrary to the minds of all the nobles of Scotland; insomuch as he supposeth the said Bishop will never come into Scotland, for, if he do, he is in danger. He saith also that in the said Bishop there is neither wisdom, learning, nor virtue, but lying, dissimulation, bribery, and all untruth, whose false reports hath brought the King of Scots and his realm to this danger, and also the nobles of that realm, who, for dread of the King's displeasure, durst not otherwise do but come to the field with him sore against their wills.†

* Presumably because they had offended St. Cuthbert.

† 'Of the Frenchmen, who served in the Scottish army, some fell in the engagement, and others were cut to pieces by the Scots, who reproached the French with being the cause of their destruction.'—Spinelly, ambassador with the Lady Margaret, to Cardinal Bainbridge, 20th Sept., 1513. (*Calend. Henry VIII.*, No. 4459.) Concerning the influence of Forman with James see Spinelly again, No. 3651. See also Appendix.

The conduct of the Lord Chamberlain in the Battle.

Polyd. Verg., xxvii., 641, 19.

Although Alexander Home, the Lord Chamberlain,* who commanded a part of the army, saw his countrymen perishing and hemmed in both in front and in the rear by the enemy, nevertheless he took no thought of sending succour, and did not move even a foot from the place where he was standing. When the rashness of the King became manifest, a stupor clouded the minds of all, just as some unwonted sleep will enchain the limbs. Each man, viewing his neighbour, stood motionless, and despaired, after the King had fallen, of being able to win the glorious victory, which, by some strange chance, had fallen, as it were, from their hands. Some attached the blame to Alexander Home alone, because he did not give the word to make an onslaught; but there need be no amazement, for so it pleased God that King James should suffer fit punishment, either for the oath which he had lately broken or for his impiety. . . . If James had fought cautiously, or if the Scots had been filled with a fierce desire to revenge the slaughter of their prince, as was justifiable, without doubt they would have gained the victory; for what could the smaller number thoroughly tired out do against the greater and more vigorous force.

* Alexander Home was made Lord High Chamberlain in 1507. He was in favour during the minority of James V., until his opposition to Albany forced him into exile. On his return in 1516 he was tried for treason, and was executed Oct. 8. The statements made against his conduct in the battle of Flodden were highly coloured by partisan writers.

Wherefore the English, very mindful of the Divine mercy, say that they owed the victory to God. . . . On the following night, the Scottish army, ravaging as it went, returned homewards; and, when it reached Scotland, it heard on all sides the unwelcome words, that it had been unreasonable and unpatriotic of them, neither to have avenged the death of the King, nor to have seen to the succour of their perishing countrymen; and that thus their country was branded with everlasting disgrace. But they condemned Alexander Home much more for this general calamity, as one who had acted not as a leader, but rather as an enemy.

[Ruthal, Bishop of Durham, in his letter to Wolsey (20 Sept., 1513), speaks of the general helplessness of England, and of its utter inability to resist the Scots had they advanced southwards. He refers to the Lord Treasurer's desire to arrange a peace as the only policy possible to England.]

1513. Sept. 10.—The Proclamation in Edinburgh after the Battle.

Burgh Register.

[News from Flodden Field must have reached the capital speedily, for the following proclamation was made on the day after the battle. The Provost and Bailies, before setting out with the King for England, had appointed (Aug. 19) George of Tours* as President, and four others, as interim Bailies, to manage the affairs of the capital.]

We do you to wit, forasmuch as there is a great rumour now lately risen within this town, touching our Sovereign Lord and his army, of which we understand there is come no verity as yet, wherefore we charge strictly and command, in our said Sovereign

* The correspondent of Andrew Halyburton.

Lord the King's name, and in that of the Presidents for the Provost and Baillies within this burgh, that all manner of persons, townsmen (*neighbours*) within the same, have ready their arms of defence (*fencible geir*) and weapons for war, and appear therewith before the said Presidents at the tolling of the common bell, for the keeping and defence of the town against them that would invade the same.

And we also charge, that all women, and especially vagabonds, that they pass to their labours, and be not seen upon the street clamouring and crying, under the pain of banishing of their persons without favour. and that the other women of better sort pass to the kirk and pray, when time requires,* for our Sovereign Lord and his army, and the townsmen who are with the army; and that they hold them at their private labours off the street within their houses, as becometh.

Of the relations between the Scots and the English.

Major. *De Gestis Scot.*, I. c. vii.

[Sentiments like the following were rare. Skelton's ribald verse was more consonant with the English feeling of the time, and doubtless the majority of the Scots reciprocated it.]

I have read in English annals that the Scots are the basest of traitors, and that this fault is inborn in them. . On the other hand, the Scots call the English cowards, and say that they will not contend with bravery or arms, but will accomplish all things by fraud and cunning. I am not accustomed to give

* At the stated times.

much faith either to the common Scots in their denunciation of the English, or to the English in their condemnation of the Scots. . . I venture to think that the English and Scots consult the interests of their monarchs badly, if they do not always arrange marriages among them, seeing that from both kingdoms they might make one realm of Britain. A man, who is an enemy, or absorbed in private interests, and caring little for the public good, will oppose this peaceful union. It may be that some Scottish or English critic will say that marriages have often been contracted, and yet by that means they have not had peace. To these I reply, that though they did not by them attain to that state which our ancestors fabled concerning the blessed Margaret of England, yet the Scots have never had more famous kings than those born of English mothers, as is evident in the case of the children of the blessed Margaret, who were kings of renown and of the best character. The same is to be noted about James the Second, who had English blood. Of James the Fifth, the grandson of Henry the Seventh of England, it is as yet impossible to make remark; but I pray God that he will imitate his father, his great-grandfather, and his great-great-grandfather, in honesty of purpose and good life.

Of Kingship.

Major. *De Gest. Scot.*, IV., xvii.

[While James and Henry were talking of the duties of kings in rather high-sounding terms,—often proved meaningless by subsequent actions,—John Major was seeking for a

deeper philosophy of politics, a philosophy which neither monarch could be expected to understand. The following extract from this active minded contemporary will stand out in marked relief; and so will the succeeding paragraph on 'Excommunication,' in the light of our knowledge of the trouble about the burial in England of the body of the excommunicated King.]

The free people first gives power to the king, and his power is dependent on the whole people. Fergus, the first king of the Scots, had no other law; and so it is everywhere, and was so generally from the beginning of the world. . If you say to me that Henry the Eighth holds his right from Henry the Seventh, I shall refer you to the first King of the English, and ask you from whom did he have his right of rule? And so I shall ask, in the case of whatsoever nation you will. . The people can expel a king and his house for their misdeeds, just as at first it had the right to appoint them. . Regarding kingship, it may be said, that that should be done which best suits the interests of the commonwealth. If the state be so placed that it be invaded by an enemy, and the king A cannot defend it, and consents to its subjugation, but B protects it, and wrests it from the grasp of the enemy, and keeps it safely, then A ought to be deposed and B should be put in his place.

Of Excommunication.

Major. *De Gest. Scot.*, IV., vii.

An unjust excommunication is no more an excommunication than a dead man is a man. I may say in passing, that, not only in Britain, but in many parts, they involve men too readily in ecclesiastical censures.

No one, unless by reason of some mortal sin, should be excommunicated, neither by the canon nor by man; and sentence should be withheld from a man for a single offence. If he will not hear the Church, the truth will speak, and he will become as a Gentile and a publican. If he will hear the Church, why should he be cast forth from the congregation of the faithful as a heathen? Wherefore I think that many who are excommunicated are in grace. Neither will a false sentence hurt a man in his spiritual life, whether he be buried in consecrated or unconsecrated ground; nor will every man, who dies under a censure justly pronounced, be damned, if he have sufficiently laboured for his absolution.

Description of a Border Raid.

[This may be taken as a specimen of the border warfare which James had attempted to put down. Flodden undid all his hard efforts. The extract is from a letter of Dacre to Henry, 13 Nov., 1514.]

On Thursday last past, I assembled your subjects in Northumberland to the number of a thousand horsemen, and rode in at Gallespeth, and so to the water of Kale, two miles within Scotland, and there set forth two forays; my brother Philip Dacre with three hundred, who burnt and destroyed the town of Rewcastle with all the corn in the same and thereabout, and took two towers in it, and burnt both roof and floors; and Sir Roger Fenwick with three hundred men burnt the town of Lanton, and destroyed all the corn therein. . . . And I came with an ambush to a place called the Dungeon, a mile from

Jedburgh, and so went to the Sclater Ford on the water of Bowset; and there the Scots pursued us right sore, there bickered with us, and gave us hand strokes. There come three standards to back them, . . . with the number of seven hundred men or more. The laird of Wauchope was hurt there with an arrow, and his horse slain. Mark Turnbull was stricken with a spear, and the head left in him; his horse was taken, and divers Scots were hurt there. And so we came forward, where we saw my brother Sir Christopher Dacre with his host arrayed at a place called the Bellyng, which was to us no little comfort. . . . We had not ridden above the space of one mile, when we saw the Lord Chamberlain appear in our sight with two thousand men and four standards. The other three standards resorted to him, and so the country drew fast to them. We put us in array, and came homeward, and rode no faster than our sheep and swine that we had taken would drive, which was of no great substance, for the country was warned of our coming, and the beacons burnt from midnight forward. And when the Scots had given us over, we returned home.

[The following, which is from an earlier letter of Dacre (to the English Council, May 17, 1514) may serve, to show *more fully* the ruthless character of this warfare. It is an inventory rather than an account.]

. . . For one ox taken by the Scots, we have taken, won, and brought away out of Scotland, one hundred; and, for one sheep, two hundred of a surety. And, as for townships and houses burnt in any of the East, Middle, and West Marches, within my rule, from

the beginning of the war unto this day, as well when—as the late King of Scots lay in the same East Marches as at all other times, I assure your lordships for truth, that I have, and have caused to be burnt and destroyed, six times more towns and houses, within the West and Middle Marches of Scotland, in the same season, than is done to us, as I may be trusted, and as I shall evidently prove. . . And upon the West Marches of Scotland I have burnt and destroyed —

[Here follow the names of 34 townships, together with ‘the water of Esk for six miles.’]

Whereas there were, in all times past, four hundred ploughs and above, they are now clearly wasted, and no man dwelling in any of them at this day save only in the towers Annan, Stepill, and Wauchope. And so I shall continue my service with diligence, from time to time, to the most annoyance of the Scots.

[*Cf.* also the description of the campaign of 1523 in Wolsey’s own words.—*Calendar, Hen. VIII.*, 30th Aug., 1523. See also the first volume of the *Hamilton Papers*.

Sir Thomas More, in his ‘*Utopia*,’ refers covertly to this Border policy: ‘They never lay their enemies’ country waste, nor burn their corn; and even in their marches they take all possible care that neither horse nor foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have use of it themselves,’ &c. *Utopia* was written in 1515-16.]

A Lament for King James the Fourth.

Lyndsay, ed. Laing, I, p. 81.

[The following verses, taken from the *Complaynt of the Papyngo* of Sir David Lyndsay, written about 1530, sketch the work of the reign and the causes of James’s ruin. Lyndsay was connected with the court during the last years of James’s life.]

Alas! where be that right redoubted roy,*

That potent prince, gentil King James the Fierd?†

I pray to Christ his soul for to convoy:

A greater noble rang ‡ not into the eird.§

O Atropus! warye || we may thy weird;¶

For he was mirror of humility,

Lodestar and lamp of liberality.

During his time, so justice did prevail,

The savage Isles trembled for 'terroure';

Eskdale, Evisdale, Liddisdale, and Annandale

Durst not rebel, doubting his dyntis dour;††

And of his lords had such perfect favour;

So for to show, that he a-feared no fone,‡‡

Out through his realm he would ride him alone.

And of his court through Europe sprang the fame,

Of lusty lords and lovesome ladies ying,|||

Triumphant tourneys, jousting, and knightly game,

With all pastime, according for a king:

He was the glore §§ of princely governing,

Who, through the ardent love he had to France,

Against England did move his ordinance.¶¶

Of Flodden Field the ruin to revolve,

Or that most dolent day for to deplore,

I nill,** for dread that dolour you dissolve,

Show how that prince in his triumphant glore §§

Destroy'd was,—what needeth process more?

Not by the virtue of English ordinance,¶¶

But by his own wilful misgovernance.

* King. † Fourth. ‡ Reigned. § Earth. || Revile.

¶ Fate. †† Blows (dyntis), severe (dour). ‡‡ Foes.

||| Young. §§ Glory. ¶¶ Ordinance. ** Will not,

Alas! that day had he been counselable,
 He had obtained laud, glore, and victory;
 Whose piteous process be so lamentable,
 I nill* at length it put in memory.
 I never read in tragedy nor story,
 At one journey† so many nobles slain,
 For the defence and love of their sovereign.

[*Cf.* Erasmus.—‘He had a wonderful force of intellect, an astounding knowledge of everything, an invincible magnanimity, the dignity of a true king, the greatest courtesy, and the most abounding liberality.’ (*Adagia*, 1634, edit. 1599.)]

* Will not. † Day’s work.



SEAL OF GAWIN DOUGLAS, BISHOP OF DUNKELD,
 (Preserved in H.M. Record Office.)



APPENDIX.

A.—THE AUTHORITIES.

1.—The Royal Letters.

We have perhaps the most valuable source of information for this period in the "Letters of James IV.," a huge mass of correspondence between the King of Scots and almost every Court and power in Europe, supplying us with details of policy, and notes of the life of the time, such as no other collection can afford. They were chiefly composed in excellent Latin by Patrick Panter (1470?-1519), tutor of James IV.'s son Alexander Stuart, who became Royal Secretary in 1505, and Abbot of Cambuskenneth in 1510. A considerable portion of this collection was published at Edinburgh in 1722 by Thomas Ruddimann, under the title *Epistolae Jacobi Quarti, Jacobi Quinti, et Mariae, Regum Scotorum . . . ab anno 1505 ad annum 1545* (2 vols. 8vo). Ruddimann used only the MSS. in the Advocates' Library. Mr. Gairdner, in the second volume of *The Letters and Papers of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.* (R. S.) 1863, has given some further letters which are preserved in the MS. in the Royal Library in the British Museum, and in a MS. in the Advocates' Library, of which Ruddimann seems not to have been aware. As many of the letters of this voluminous correspondence lie yet unprinted, a complete edition is much to be desired in the interests of Scottish historical research.

Patrick Panter must not be confused with his nephew David Panter, who died in 1558. David succeeded his brother as Secretary. Most of the letters of Ruddiman's *second* volume were written by him.

2.—Polydore Vergil.

Polydori Vergilii Vrbinatiss Historia Anglica.

Polydore Vergil, a native of Urbino in Italy, was sent to England by Pope Alexander VI., in 1501-2, along with his kinsman, Cardinal Adrian de Castello, for the collection of Peter-Pence. In 1503 he was presented to the rectory of Church Langton in Leicestershire; and in 1508 he was nominated to the archdeaconry of Wells. In 1510 he was naturalized, and later obtained further Church preferment.

Before 1508 he was requested by Henry VII. to write a History of England; and he began in that year to collect materials. He was fortunate in his friends in England, numbering among them Sir Thomas More, Pace, Linacre, Tunstal, Latimer, and Gawin Douglas, the poet Bishop of Dunkeld. The *History*, which was divided into twenty-six books, was published in a folio volume at Basel in 1534, and was dedicated to Henry VIII. The text of the original edition ended at the year 1501; the third and later editions were continued to 1538. He seems to have died in 1555, still engaged in his literary and historical studies.

‘This was the first of our histories,’ says Sir Henry Ellis, ‘in which the writer ventured to compare the facts and weigh the statements of his predecessors’; and it has a full contemporary value because its author knew many of the leading actors.* It is of chief importance to us when dealing with the relations of Scotland and England. In 1509 Vergil sent a letter to James IV., requesting him to send a catalogue of the Scottish Kings, and to give what information his Highness might be willing, in order that his *History* might be as complete and fair as possible. He concludes his epistle as follows:— ‘Since this island is one, I have made it my intention to recount with equal care the history of the Scots, which is also very famous; but I cannot carry out my plan in strict order;

* Polydore was very well informed, and seems to have had access to the documents and State papers. Cf. his account of West’s embassy to Scotland with West’s own dispatch to Henry VIII., *ante* p. 129.

as I know of no author to serve as model. I have often spoken on the subject to Sir Gilbert, your Majesty's chaplain, and have urged him to give me information of at least the names of the Kings of Scotland, that each might, as I desire, have his place in my *History*; but as yet to no purpose. I therefore pray your Majesty, who knows no less how to do than to say a good thing, to deign to send to me either the annals (if there be any) or the names of the Kings written in proper order; and more especially that you will inform me of your own deeds, or those illustrious actions which you will yet do, and all these will be inscribed in my *History*. And although I have not the genius, nor am endowed with learning enough to make memorial of the affairs of your Majesty's realm, nevertheless, in all truth I shall study that nothing sounding to its honour or glory shall by my ignorance or carelessness be forgotten; and your Majesty will clearly discern this, when I have finished my labours. London, 13 Dec., 1509.' James sent no reply; but Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, gave the desired information, when he met the historian during his sojourn in England. (*Hist.*, Bk. III., p. 52.)

The references are to the Basel edition of 1570.

3.—Edward Hall.

The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke. . . . [By Edward Hall]. 1548.

Hall's *History* is for the most part a vigorous translation of Polydore Vergil's great work. This is especially the case in the reign of Henry VII. When therefore I have found any important passage from Vergil reproduced in Hall, I have used the latter's translation in preference to a more modern one. His version is not very far from being a strictly contemporary English narrative. Hall moreover has a value of his own. He is in many cases much more detailed than Vergil and other writers, and shows by the nature of the information which he gives that he was thoroughly conversant with the events of the time. The State Papers and Royal Letters afford ample corroboration.

Hall is useful too as a corrective to Polydore Vergil, whom Mr. Brewer has sometimes convicted of wilful misrepresentation of character ; though he is not really required in this capacity until after the close of the period with which we are dealing. Hall himself shows that he had a bias, which was common to all the lawyers of his time, in being an enthusiastic supporter of the New Monarchy. A foil to him will be found in John Major, the Scottish historian. Altogether Hall is a very accurate writer, and wonderfully fair in his treatment of the Scottish episodes during this period. His list of authorities at the beginning is an augury of the new methods of historical composition ; though he fails to satisfy modern demands, when he abruptly closes his list with the statement, that he used 'other divers pamphlets, the names of which are to most men unknown.'

I have used the London Reprint of 1809, 4to. [pp. 868.] which is an edition 'carefully collated with those of 1548 and 1550.'

4.—Bernard André of Toulouse.

Historia Regis Henrici Septimi, a Bernardo Andrea Tholosate conscripta . . . Edited by James Gairdner, 1858. (*Rolls Series*.)

Bernard André of Toulouse was attached to the Court of Henry VII., and, besides being Poet Laureate, was a tutor, first at Oxford, and later to Prince Arthur. He died about 1521. His reputation as an author was great in his day. The chief value of the *Chronicle* is that it is a *strictly* contemporary account ; written in the reign of the King whom it commemorates ; and this merit will go far to compensate for its meagreness and omissions, even in those portions where his intimate knowledge of the Court might have been used to better advantage.

5.—Pedro de Ayala.

In the first volume of *The Calendar of Letters, &c. between England and Spain*, edited by Mr. Bergenroth (1862-8), there is a most important letter from Pedro de Ayala, the

* Hall died in 1547.

Spanish Ambassador in Scotland, from which the extracts in the preceding pages have been made. The Embassy was sent to Scotland with the ostensible purpose of arranging a marriage for James, and of making peace between him and Henry.

Ayala was a personal friend of James IV.; so much so, that Ferdinand's schemes seemed at times unlikely to prosper. 'Possessed of a keen determination,' says Bergenroth, 'he had a thorough insight into the characters of those with whom he had to deal.' As he was accredited likewise to the Court of England, he was in a position to form an opinion which is of value to us. Londono and the Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella that 'he knows England well, but Scotland better. He is in fact the only man who knows Scotland, all others looking on the Scots only as their enemies, and flying into a passion as soon as the name of Scotland is pronounced.' (Bergenroth. No. 204). His account will be read with interest as the next important relation by a foreigner after that of Æneas Sylvius; and it is a truer one, with none of the personal element of rheumatism, nervous irritation, and hard penance.

The justice of the verdict of Ayala is seen when we compare his letters with those of another Spanish emissary of the time, De Puebla, who entertained a great dislike for the Apostolic and Imperial Protonotary. De Puebla's reading of character may be judged by extracts from two letters, dated 17 July and 25 Aug., 1498. In the former he says 'It is more difficult to marry such a king as the King of Scotland than to bring him up,' and in the latter 'It is easier to marry a man like the King of Scots than to guide him.'

Much of Ayala's report is restated by Francesco Capello, known as the earliest Venetian ambassador to England. 'And here I must mention,' he says, 'that if I should state anything concerning Scotland which your Lordships should not believe on my report, I appeal to the authority of the most worshipful Don Pedro de Ayala, from whom, by means of the friendship I formed with his secretary, M. Parsamonte, in London, I collected many particulars.' (*A relation of the Island of England* (about 1500). Camden Society, 1847).

6.—Hector Boece.

Lives of the Bishops of Murthlac and Aberdeen (1522).
Reprinted by the Bannatyne Club, 1825

This work, by the author of the well-known *History of Scotland*, gives us an interesting account of the life of Bishop Elphinstone, and of the new University which he founded at Aberdeen.* In 1494 Boece was invited by the Bishop to become Principal.† The *Lives*, which was probably an expression of gratitude to the Bishop, is free from the extravagance which makes portions of the *History* so unreliable. As the latter does not go beyond the death of James III., all the information which we have about this period comes from the *Lives*.

7.—Alexander Myln.

Vitæ Dunkeldensis Ecclesiæ Episcoporum. . ab Alexandro Myln.

Alexander Myln was a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Dunkeld at the beginning of the 16th century. In 1505 he became rural Dean; and in 1517 he succeeded Patrick Panter as Abbot of the monastery of Cambuskenneth. He seems to have died in 1548. The *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld* goes down to the year 1515. The MS. in quarto is preserved in the Advocates' Library; and from it a beautiful edition was printed for the Bannatyne Club in 1823. It contains several passages of general interest, and includes a short notice of Flodden, which is one of the very few Scottish accounts.

8.—John Young.

The description of Queen Margaret's journey to Scotland is from the pen of John Young, Somerset Herald, who accompanied the Princess on that occasion. He is fond of detailing,

* See pp. 61-63, &c. of the *Lives*.

† Muneribus et pollicitationibus ad se allexit (p. 60).

in the spirit of his office, the 'bravery' of the princess and her companions. The counterpart will be found in W. Ogilby's *Panegyric on Henry VII.*, where the riches of her mind are fully displayed. Young's narration is extracted from the fourth volume of Leland's *Collectanea*.

9.—Walter Ogilvy.

The *Panegyric on Henry VII.*, which exists only in MS., is preserved in the Advocates' Library (MSS. 33, 2, 24). It is a thin quarto volume of 18 leaves written in a bold hand. It has a considerable *contemporary* interest, as it was composed (probably about 1502*) by one Walter Ogilby, who was a teacher of Hector Boece at Paris. It is mentioned by Boece in his *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen*. The marriage of Margaret Tudor is described (fol. 3) by one who had seen or known about the event; but even here the value is lessened by the abundance of interjections, adjectives in the superlative degree, and classical allusions.

10.—Andrew Halyburton, &c.

The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, Conservator of the Privileges of the Scotch Nation in the Netherlands (1492—1503). Edited by Cosmo Innes, 1867, (published under the direction of the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland).

Little is known of Andrew Halyburton, beyond the fact that he was Conservator, and resided at the staple town. In the 15th century Bruges was the Scottish staple, but in 1444, on account of the marriage of Mary of Scotland to Wolfred, Lord of Campvere (henceforth Earl of Buchan), it was removed to Campvere. In 1539 it changed to Antwerp, and in 1541 to Middleburgh; but soon after it returned to Campvere, where it remained till the French Revolution.

* See Gairdner's *Memorials of Henry VII.* (Preface.)

The nature of the Ledger does not admit of many extracts in a book like the present, but it is nevertheless a most valuable aid to the student of the period.

There are two other books, which are of even greater value, but which, on account of their character, cannot supply material to these pages.

In the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (1473-1498), edited by Thomas Dickson, LL.D., of the General Register House, Edinburgh, we have much information about the movements of the Court, the progress of the campaigns, &c., as well as the business of the Lord High Treasurer. The volume is preceded by a most exhaustive and valuable Preface.

The other is *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (vols. x., xi., and xii. 1488-1507), edited by the late George Burnett, LL.D., Lyon King-at-Arms. Each volume contains an Historical Introduction.

11.—Account of the Battle of Flodden.

In 1809 Mr. Haslewood reprinted in facsimile a contemporary tract, entitled '*Hereafter ensue the trewe Encounter or Batayle lately don between Englande and Scotlande. . . Emprynted by me, Richard Faques, dwelling in Poules Churchyerde,*' (no date). Dr. David Laing increased the interest in this print by publishing in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (vol. vii., pp. 141-152) an account of a MS. which had fallen into his hands, and which supplemented the imperfect printed tract. The text will be found at length in the Proceedings, from which the extracts in this volume have been made.

There is very little material to be found in this contemporary account which does not already exist in the history of Hall or in the earlier letters of the Bishop of Durham. The name of the author of the tract is unknown. There seems some reason to believe that it may have been compiled for the press from the official reports which arrived from the field, or from the notes of

the eye-witness Ruthal. The description of the battle, of the movements, and of the fighting between the different squadrons, and the list of the slain, follow so closely on the lines of Hall, (who was careful in studying authentic documents), and of the official despatch already quoted, that some connection between these various documents is obvious. I have quoted it chiefly to corroborate some interesting statements of the Bishop of Durham. It is referred to it under the title *MS. Batayle*.

12.—John Major, or Mair.

The selections from the *History of Scotland* (written in 1518) by the famous John Mair or Major (1469 [?]-1550) are taken chiefly for the purpose of illustrating the social state of the country, and the new ideas in politics and religion, which found their fuller expression in the pages of Buchanan and the men of his time. Major's history is perhaps best known because of the attitude which he took up concerning the early fabulous history of Scotland, and because of the later controversy which it provoked; but it is chiefly valuable to us for its allusion to contemporary customs. It is prefaced, after the manner of the times, with a long geographical account of doubtful value.

No English version of the history has been published; though the Scottish History Society is at present passing through the press a translation from the pen of Mr. A. Constable, with a preface by Dr. Æneas Mackay. For further specimens of Major's political theories and the sentiments of the University of Paris on church government, see his 'De auctoritate Concilii,' and his Exposition of St. Matthew, from which a few extracts are given in M'Crie's 'Life of John Knox,' p. 309 (ed., 1855.)

13.—John Knox.

The extract from Knox's 'History of the Reformation,' though written in the latter part of the 16th century, is yet of peculiar contemporary value. The Articles of the Lollards are

taken, as **Knox** informs us, from the Register of Glasgow, and, from the manner in which they are given, are undoubtedly authentically transcribed. 'This Register,' says Dr. Laing, 'was probably the Court-Book of the Official of Glasgow, an office usually held by one of the canons of the diocese. No registers of the kind are known to be preserved.' The extract is from pp. 6-12 of Vol. I. of Dr. Laing's edition, printed for the Wodrow Society. The reader is referred to that volume for copious notes concerning the persons mentioned in the passage given above.

14.—Lindsay of Pitscottie.

Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, in like manner, is not a contemporary authority, but, in the few cases in which he has been quoted, he appears as one giving information derived directly from friends who were contemporary with the events. Pitscottie's *History* (1436-1565), charming to read, but sometimes too extravagant, is certainly reliable in the extracts given, as the perusal of them will show.

The references are to the folio edition, Edinburgh, 1728. Occasional reference has been made to Dalzell's edition (2 vols.) where the text was obscure.

15.—Calendars, Record Publications, &c.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by M. F. Thorpe, 1858.

Vol. I., 1509—1589.

Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Edited by J. S. Brewer, 1862.

Vol. I., 1509—1514.

Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain. . . Edited by G. A. Bergenroth.

Vol. I., 1485—1509; Vol. II., 1509—1525; and Supplements

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. . . Edited by Rawdon Brown.

Vol. I., 1202—1509 ; Vol. II. 1509—1519.

Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, &c., edited by Th. Rymer. Vols. XII. and XIII.

Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. Edited by Thos. Thomson and Cosmo Innes.

Council Registers, (Edinburgh, Aberdeen, &c.)

Acta Dominorum Concilii (MS. preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh). There is also a partial transcript of the MS. in the same place.

Original Letters, illustrative of English History. Edited by Henry Ellis. London, 1825. Three Series.

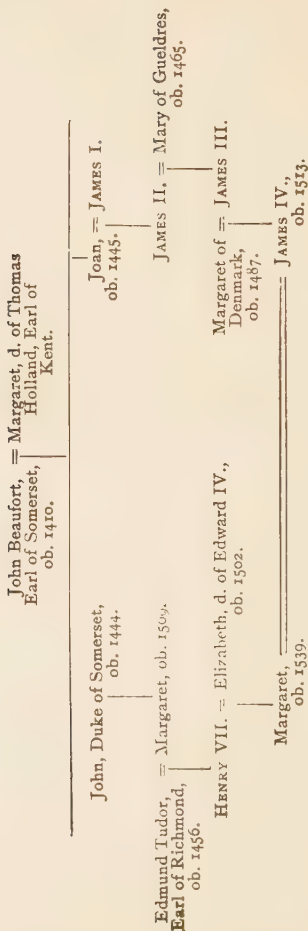
In the Appendix to the 2nd Vol. of Pinkerton's 'History of Scotland' will be found transcripts of several important documents, notably the dispatch from Wolsey, given on p. III.

B.—GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

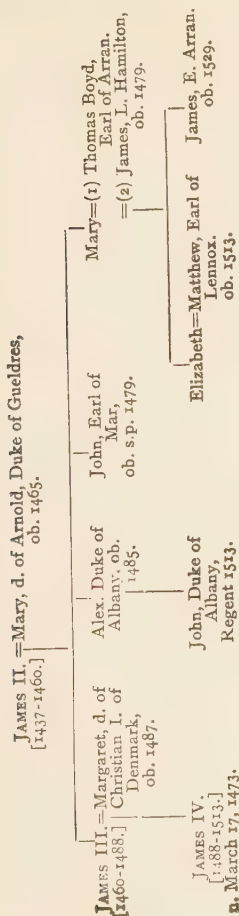
1.—Blood Relationship of James and Margaret.

James and Margaret stood within the forbidden degrees ; and a special dispensation from Rome was necessary before the marriage could take place. The document, which is dated 28 July, 1500, is reproduced in Rymer, XII., p. 765. Margaret is there referred to as being within the *fourth* degree of consanguinity.

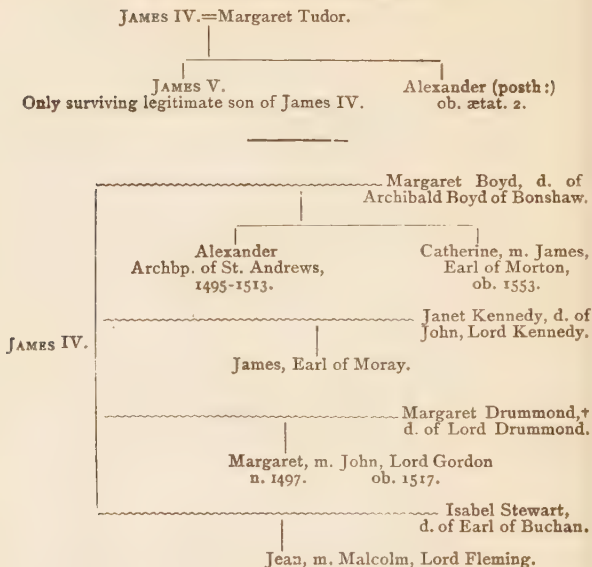
The table on the following page will show the common ancestry of James and his consort.



2.—The Royal Family and its connections.



3.—Children of James IV.



† The King, while only in his sixteenth year, has been represented as living openly in profligate splendour, 'holding high revel' at Linlithgow with Margaret Drummond, who was still younger than himself, and a luxurious picture has been conjured up of 'splendid shows and presents lavished upon his mistress,' 'theatrical entertainments got up for the solace of the youthful lovers, dances and masked balls at night, and hunting parties during the day' (Tytler, III., 444. Strickland's *Queens*, I., 20). For all this there is no other authority than a few misapprehended entries in the Treasurer's accounts, some of which relate merely to the simple amusements of the King himself, and the rest to items of dress and other allowances given to the lady Margaret Stewart, the King's aunt, who appears as the recipient of similar allowances when the King was still in his cradle. The romantic tale, which carries back the King's courtship of Margaret Drummond to a period anterior to his accession, is probably altogether fanciful, and there is no good reason to suppose that she lived

JOHN OF ISLA
'The Good John,'
1st Lord of the Isles.

=(1) Amie Macmari.

John ob. 1369. Godfrey,
Lord of Uist. Ranald.

Angus ob. s.p.

=(2) Margaret, d. of Robert, High Steward
of Scotland, afterwards Robert II.

DONALD, = Mary Leslie,
2nd Lord of the Isles, afterwards Countess
Earl of Ross. of Ross. John,
'John Mor.' Alexander
Lord of
Lochaber.

ALEXANDER, = Elizabeth, d. of Alex. Seton,
3rd Lord of the Isles, Lord of Gordon and Huntly. Angus,
Earl of Ross. Bishop of the
Isles.

John, Celestine.
4TH LORD OF THE ISLES.
Surrendered title of Earl of
Ross to Crown in 1476.
Title of Lord of Isles for-
feited in 1493.

Angus,
m. d. of Earl of Argyle,
ob. ante 1490. John,
ob. s.p. Alexander
of Lochalsb.

Donald Dubh. Donald,
'The Foreigner.'

1488	October 6	At Edinburgh.
1489	January 14	"
1489	June 26	"

openly as his mistress till June, 1496, when she came to reside at Stirling Castle under the care of Lady Lundy. . . This is in accordance with the statement of Don P' dro de Ayala (*ante* p. 57).—Dickson. *Preface to Treasurer's Accounts*, cxxxii.

1489	September 18	At Stirling.
1490	February 3	At Edinburgh.
1491	April 28 }	"
	May 14 }	
1492	February 6	"
1492	May 7	"
1493	May 8	"
1496	June 13 }	"
	June 23 }	
1503	March 11	"
1504	June 4 }	"
	October 3.. }	
	December 31 }	
1505	January 7 ..	
1505	July 3, 12	"
	November 4, 18, 20, 21, 24, 26 }	
	December 1, 15	
1506	January 20	"
	February 16	
1506	November 24	"
1509	March 8	"
1509	May 8	"
1513	August 24	At Twiselhaugh.

D.—THE SEES.

ST. ANDREWS.

(Archbishopric)

William Schevez, 1478—1497.

James Stewart, Duke of Ross, br. of James IV., 1497—1503.

Vacant, 1503-9

Alexander Stewart, nat. son of James IV., 1509—1513. Slain at Flodden.

Andrew Forman, 1514.—

ABERDEEN.

William Elphinstone, 1484—1514.

MORAY.

Andrew Stewart, son of the Black Knight of Lorn, 1482—1501.

Andrew Forman, 1501—1514.

GLASGOW.

Robert Blacader, 1484—1508. *Raised to an Archbishopric.*

James Betoun, 1508—1522.

DUNKELD.

George Brown, 1484—1515. (?)

BRECHIN.

John Balfour, 1470—1500 (?).

Walter Meldrum, 1500 (?)—1517 (?).

DUNBLANE.

James Chisholm, 1486—1527.

ROSS.

John Frazer, 1485—1507.

Robert Cockburn, 1508—1521.

CAITHNESS.

Vacant

Andrew Stewart, 1490—1518.

ORKNEY.

Andrew , 1478— (?)

Edward Stewart, 1511—

GALLOWAY.

Ninian *Spot* (?) 1459—

George Vaus, 1489—1508.

James Betoun, 1508— (Elect.)

David Arnot, 1509—1526.

ARGYLE.

Robert Colquhoun, 1473—1496 (?).

John 1499—

David Hamilton, 1505—1520.

ISLES.

Robert 1492.

John 149 —1509.

George Hepburn, 1510—1513.

E.—ANDREW FORMAN, BISHOP OF MORAY.

The following are the chief diplomatic notices of Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, who has the chief share of responsibility for the war which ended in the disaster at Flodden.

30 July, 1500.—A letter of credence from James IV. to Henry VIII., for Forman ‘formerly ambassador between Henry VII. and us.’

15 Oct., 1510.—Licence to Forman to procure any bulls from the Pope. His mission to the Pope is referred to in letters of James to the Cardinal of Ancona and the Marquis of Mantua, in the former of which James says of Forman, ‘He brings all things to a successful issue, as he is by far the most prosperous of negotiators.’ (*Epist. Regum Scot.* p. 126.)

6 May, 1511.—Julius, in a letter to James, says ‘We had conceived a high opinion, from your Highness’s letters, of the Bishop of Moray, whom you have sent to us as your ambassador to the Holy See. But after he came himself to us, and began to treat your business and ours, we have formed a far higher opinion.’ James thanks Julius for these words, and for the honour which he intends to bestow on his ambassador (31 Jan., 1512).

16 Feb., 1512.—James, in a letter to Julius, refers to the Bishop’s sojourn in France, and shows himself ignorant of the meaning of the manœuvring, by which this plausible person brought about his ruin in the following year. ‘We have heard from the Bishop of Moray . . . that he has remained for some time with the most Christian King of France for the purpose of promoting an accommodation; and we hope he may be successful, and that the King may prove himself an obedient son to your Holiness, and you a grateful father to the House of France, which has so often deserved well of the Roman Church. We have heard of the Council, but nothing of the mind and wishes of your Holiness. We expect to be informed by your ambassador, who is delaying in the hope of making peace. . .’

In a letter of James V. to Leo X., 4th March, 1514, we have the charge of treason laid against Forman for his attitude during the preceding reign.

F.—THE RELATIONS WITH DENMARK.

The preceding pages afford several proofs of the intimate connection between Scotland and Denmark—a natural outcome of

the close relationship between the Royal Houses, which began by the marriage of Margaret, daughter of Alexander III., with King Eric, and continued even past the present period to the time when the last distinct King of Scotland espoused Anne of Denmark. The history of the connection is indeed a large chapter in Scottish history, and no small part of it falls in the reign of James IV. The reader will find the chief items of this portion of the story gathered together in an interesting paper by Dr. Æneas Mackay on *The Relations between Scotland and Denmark in the reigns of James IV. of Scotland and Hans of Denmark*, about to be published as a Note in the concluding part of his edition of the Poems of William Dunbar (*Scottish Text Society*). I am much indebted to Dr. Mackay for drawing my attention to a rare tract by Bekker, entitled *De Rebus inter Dania, Gallia, Scotiæque Reges Actis*, 1511-14 (1834). This little book and Mr. Macray's accounts in the 45th, 46th, and 47th Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Records form a valuable adjunct to the *Royal Letters* referred to in a foregoing section of the Appendix. Mr. C. F. Wegener has printed an interesting manuscript known as *Kong Hans's Brev-bog* (1506-1512), which was the copybook of Ove Bilde, the Chancellor of King John. It will be found in the Appendix of the 1st volume of *Aarsberetninger fra det Kongelige Geheime Archiv*. (1852-5). In this connection too the reader may be referred to *Kong Hans's Kronicke* (1481-1513) by Arrild Huitfeldt, published at Copenhagen in 1599. It forms a part of the second volume of that writer's *Chronicles of Denmark*.

G.—JAMES'S RELATIONS WITH GUELDRÉS.

On page 98 (April, 1505) will be found an interesting letter from James to the Duke Charles, wherein he reproves his kinsman for giving an asylum to the fugitive Edmund de la Pole (Earl of Suffolk). The letter is couched in strong terms; yet it is the letter of a friend.

That James was anxious to preserve the old friendly relations, despite Duke Charles's impolitic act, is shown in later correspondence. On July 8, 1506 (Gairdner, II. p. 206) James, in

answer to complaints from the Duke of Gueldres that he was attacked by the Emperor and others, promised his good services as mediator, and other intervention if necessary. On Jan. 8, 1507, James, in a letter to Henry VII., took up a decided attitude. Maximilian, he said, was harassing Gueldres again, and it would not be to the honour of the English King to join against Duke Charles. He was bound to Gueldres by treaty as well as blood, and he should have to be considered Henry's enemy, if the latter were so badly advised as not to heed the warning (*Epist. Reg. Scot.*, I. 40). James's influence with France and his letter to Henry so affected the schemes of the House of Austria, that thirty years had to pass before it acquired the coveted territory of the Duke Charles.

H. THE LOLLARDS.

The protomartyr of the Reformation in Scotland was James Resby, who was burned at Perth in 1406-7 (see Bower, XV., 20.) The Church seems to have become aware of the growing heterodoxy, as is proved by the following facts. In the oath of the University of St. Andrew (1416) it is said: 'Jurabitis quod ecclesiam defendetis contra insultam Lollardorum.' In the Parliament, 12th March, 1425, held at Perth, an act was passed 'Anent Heretics and Lollards.' In 1432, Laurence of Lindores, rector of Creich, was known by the title of 'Inquisitor for the Kingdom of Scotland.' He was succeeded in that office in September, 1437, by George Newton, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Bothwell. Paul Craw, a Bohemian, was burnt at St. Andrews in July 1431, for holding heretical doctrines. In 1471 Patrick Grahame, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was deposed, under sentence of heresy, because he had proposed some necessary reforms in the Church. In the *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy*, the former is branded with the epithets 'Judas, jew, juggler, Lollard laureate,' and 'Lamp Lollardorum' (Scot. Text Soc. Edit. pp. 28-9.) Dr. Laing has quoted a couplet from *Kennedy's Praise of Age*—

The schip of Faith, tempestuous wind and rain,
Drives in the sea of Lollardy that blawis.

See Laing's Edit. of Knox's *History* (Wodrow Society).

I.—THE SCOTTISH CONSERVATOR.

The following extracts from Halyburton's *Ledger*, besides giving us some interesting economic information, tell us not a little about the varied duties of the Scottish Conservator.

(a)

ITEM the same night that Robert Rynd^r passed to Calais, I sent Rowll after him with a bill to warn him of the Lombard that was set to arrest him in Gravelines; the which Rowll cost me 5s. Paid to the barber's son to convey him by night, 12d. Item given 6d. for drink silver to let them out at the gates (*ports*) of Bruges after 10 hours of the night.

Sum in all of this parcel . . . 6s. 6d.

January 1493 (f. 37).

(b)

ITEM, in November, bought in Berry, and packed in a cask (*rondall*), and laid in the 'Gilbert Edmonston,' in the first, 6 lb. almonds; cost 12s. 6d. Item 50 lb. rice, cost 7s.; 4 dozen of pepper, cost 18½d. the lb. Item 2 dozen of ginger, cost 22d. the lb. Item 4 lb. saffron, cost 9s. 6d. Item 4 lb. long cinnamon (*canell*), cost 5s. 6d. the lb. Item 3 lb. mace, cost 4s. 8d. the lb. Item 2 lb. cloves, cost 4s. 2d. the lb. Item 2 lb. of sandalwood (*sandry*), cost 16d. the lb. Item 3 lb. truss (*trousell*), cost 16d. the lb. Item 24 lb. confections (*scrozatis*), cost 6d. the lb; 13 lb. fine sugar, cost 6d. the lb. Item lii; ells canvas, cost 25s. the C., 12*l.* 18s. 7d. Item for the cask (*rondal*), 15d. Item nails and packing, and labourer's (*pynour*) fee, 4d. Item toll and hire of track-boat (*schout hire*).

Sum of this 'rondall' with the costs is 13*l.* 1s. 3d.

Item, at that same time, bought in Middleburgh, and shipped in the 'Julian,' 320⁸ lb. iron, holding 131 ends, cost 4s. 4d. each C. Item for extra expense (*oncostis*), weighing, packing, and 'schout hire,' 3s. 6d.

1497 (f. 53).

(c)

ITEM shipped . . . to the Archdeacon 2 tombstones (*throwys*), one for my Lady Ross, and one for Sir Alex-

ander Scot : each piece (*stek*) cost 7*l*. Item for packing, each *stek* 6*s*. Item labourer's fee, each *stek*, 18*d* Item for toll, each *stek* 4*s*. Item 'schout hire' of these two are reckoned with the great stone.

Sum of costs of these two, except 'schout hire' . . 15*l*. 3*s*.
Item paid for portage of 2 great masses of letters from Rome, the which were directed to the Archdeacon, and to Thomas Hakerston, 5 crowns of gold, the which I send home with James Homill, . . . 1*l*. 7*s*.6*d*.

1498 (f. 132). .

(*d*)

These are the costs that I laid out on the man of Horn.
Item, in the first, given to make his costs, and the man's costs when he fetched him 5*s*.
Item paid for their freight in Corton's ship 8*s*.
Item given the man in his purse in English groats and other money, and to buy his breeches (*breks*) with and spend in the Vere 9*s*.
Item paid for his freight in the ship that they passed in . . 8*s*.
Item sent to his wife when he was in Scotland 1*l*.
Item given himself when he came out of Scotland 3*l*. 6*s*.
Sum of these expenses 6*l*. 6*s*.

1502 (f. 261).

K.—THE COINAGE.

The coinage of the period was in Gold, Silver, and Billon.

GOLD :—The chief pieces in circulation were :—*The Unicorn* (so called from having a unicorn on the obverse) value 18*s*. to 20*s*., and the *Half Unicorn* (value 9*s*. to 10*s*.); the *Rider* (having



OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

UNICORN PIECE (*gold*.)

on the obverse the King on horseback galloping to the left), value 22s. to 23s., and the *Half Rider* (11s. 6d.); the *St. Andrew*, or *Lion*, or *Scottish Crown* (with the Saint on the cross between two fleur de lys) in value about 14s.—though it frequently varied, the *Two Thirds Lion*, and the *One Third Lion*; the *Demy* (value 14s., and equal to half an English or Harry noble), and the *Half Demy* (7s). It is doubtful whether the Crown ever existed in the form of struck money. The famous *Six Angel Piece* (unique) now in the British Museum is, according to Burns, a *pattern* piece. It weighed, strictly speaking, more than 6 English nobles. Several foreign gold coins were in circulation, one variety, the *French Crown* (varying in value from 12s. 6d. to 15s.), being the most common gold piece in Scotland. Other foreign coins were the *Flemish Rider* (15s. to 16s.); the *English Harry* (26s. 8d. to 32s.), and the *Half Harry*; the *English Angel Noble* (24s.), and the *Half Angel Noble* (12s.); the *English Rose Noble* (36s.); the *French Lew* (about 18s.); and the *French Half Crown* (7s. 6d.)

SILVER :—*Groats* (12d.), *Half Groats* (6d.), and *Thirds*.

BILLON :—*Placks* and *Pennies*.

£1 was equivalent to 6s. English. The Merk (13s. 4d.) and the Schilling (12d.) were mere money on account, and had no metal equivalents.

For further information the reader is referred to the standard works of Burns, Cochrane-Patrick, and Wingate, and to the numismatic portions of the glossary in Dr. Dickson's *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*.

L.—THE ARTILLERY OF THE PERIOD.

The reader will have noticed in the foregoing extracts how varied were the names and forms of the artillery of the period. It is difficult, and in some cases impossible, to understand the terms applied to the cannon of the time. The leading varieties were:—the *falcon*, a cannon of 3 inches calibre, with smaller sizes known as the *half-falcon* and *quarter-falcon*; the *slang* (Germ. schlange), perhaps the same as the *sling*, a

long thin cannon, originally a hand-gun, 3 feet. long; the *serpente*, and the *culverin*, (Fr. *coulevrine*, It. *colubrina*); *moyen*, *moyan*, or *myand*, a *medium* sized cannon; *hagtor*, probably a misreading of *hagbot* or *hagbut*, a gun with a crooked butt*; *dogg*, maybe the same as the *dagg*, a horse-carbine or hand-gun, which after successive modifications was in the 17th century a kind of horse-pistol.† The large siege cannon were known as *bombards* (e.g. Mons Meg).

Other names, such as *aspic*, *basilisk*, *bastard*, *battard*, *berse*, *carthoun*, will be found in the *New English Dictionary*; and the terms *culverine*, *bastard*, *saikyr* or *sacre* (called after a kind of hawk),‡ *murderess*, *curtall*, *pasuolans* (Fr. *passevolans*), &c., will be found in an interesting passage in the *Complaynt of Scotland* (pp. 41, 42), edited by Dr. Murray for the Early English Text Society. The concluding lines are interesting, because they explain the different calibre of the guns, as far as onomatopoeic description can. ‘I heard the cannons and guns make many hideous crak, duf, duf, duf, duf, duf, duf; the berses and falcons cried tirduf, tirduf, tirduf, tirduf, tirduf, tirduf; then the small artillery cried tik tak, tik tak, tik tak, tik tak.’

The Scottish artillery taken at Flodden is thus described by Hall: ‘Five great curtals, two great culverines, four sacres, and six serpentines, besides other pieces.’ Both Hall and Ruthal speak of the great beauty of this artillery. Of special merit was the set known as the Seven Sisters, mentioned in the Venetian accounts and elsewhere, which was cast by Robert Borthwick, the Master of Artillery. His cannons bore the legend—

Machina sum Scoto Borthwic fabricata Roberto.

The making of brass cannon in Scotland seems to have preceded that art in England. Stow tells us that John Owen was the first

* The smaller sort were called demi-hags.—Meyrick, II., 240.

† I am indebted for the foregoing information to Dr. J. A. H. Murray of Oxford.

‡ Note how the Serpent and Falcon have supplied most of the names the cannon of this period. The musket, the descendant of the old ‘*muschite*,’ takes its name from the sparrow-hawk.

to forge brass ordnance in England, in the year 1521, (*Chron.*, p. 5-2). Some of the Scottish cannon were of French make, and had been sent as a present to James; yet the Scottish arsenals were justly famed for this work. In an indenture of 1539, (Jan. 20) for the delivery of Berwick Castle and its stores by Sir Thomas Clifford to Sir William Ewers, there are several entries of cannon 'of Scottyshe makinge.'

For further information on the artillery of the period, and especially on naval cannon, see Meyrick's *Inquiry into Ancient Armour*, II., p. 289, and Dickson's *Preface to the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, ccxvii., &c.

M.—HIGHLAND COSTUME AND ARMOUR (Page 64).

The illustration is taken from a drawing by Albert Dürer (1521) preserved in the British Museum. Though we learn from the notes at the head of the engraving that the men represented are Irish, there can be no hesitation in taking the picture as a faithful sketch of the Highland warriors of the period. The statements of Major given in a previous portion of this book could not have been better illustrated; and the picture itself will be found to be quite in keeping with the outlines on the tombstones of the West of Scotland. The quilted tunic of the figure to the left is the same as the garb on the sculptured stones; and the two-handed sword, the plates, and chained pieces are quite Scottish. In two respects perhaps the drawing must be modified to make it completely Scottish. The bascinet is somewhat different in shape and detail; and the saffron-dyed garment is somewhat longer than is generally found on the stone effigies.

The three figures in the rear illustrate the poorer class of warriors, who have no armour on their bodies, and are clad each one after his own rough fancy. They correspond very accurately with the description at the foot of page 64.

The costume of the Highlanders, as Major saw it, seems to have undergone little change from the time, five centuries before, when Magnus Olafson, on his return from the expedition to the Hebrides, 'went about,' according to the Saga, 'barelegged,

having short tunics (*kyrtlu*) and upper garments; and so men called him Barelegs.' Compare also the description in Bower, the continuator of Fordun (II. 420.); and the later account of the 'rough-footed Scots' in the 'Proposal for uniting Scotland and England, by John Elder, Clerk and *Redshank*," 1542-3. (*Bann. Miscellany*).

See Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland, their Origin, History, and Antiquities*; Appendix to *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Iona Club); Drummond's *Ancient Scottish Weapons* and *The Sculptured Monuments of Iona and West Highlands*; Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (Spalding Club); and Lord Archibald Campbell's *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition* (Argyllshire Series).



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Field of Stirling and the Coronation of James IV.	5
The Debate and Cause of the Field of Stirling	6
The Archbishopric of Glasgow	9
Sir Andrew Wood defeats the English	10
The fight with Stephen Bull	11
The subsidy demanded by the Pope for a Crusade... ..	15
Of Wappinschawings	16
The practice of archery	18
Fishing to be encouraged by the Burghs... ..	18
Bishop Elphinstone goes on an Embassy to the Emperor... ..	19
The rival Archbishops... ..	20
The Lollards of Kyle	22
The State of the Scottish Church	26
Of Land Tenure	27
Foundation of Aberdeen University	27
Arrival of Perkin Warbeck	28
His welcome and marriage	29
A letter from Perkin to Lady Gordon	30
Fredinand and Isabella and a royal marriage	32
Law in the Lordship of the Isles	34
The children of barons, &c., to be sent to school and college ...	35
Lord Bothwell's information to Henry VII.	36
He exhorts Henry to attack Scotland	38
Henry sends warships to the Forth	40
The Expedition of Perkin Warbeck	41
James chides Perkin	42
Henry's preparations for a Scottish Campaign	44
The advance of the Scots... ..	44
Sack of Norham Castle	45

	PAGE
Of the royal revenue	57
Of the Court	59
The good Bishop Elphinstone	59
The National improvement	61
Of Commerce and Agriculture	61
Of the character of the people	63
Law in the Highlands and Isles	63
The Highlanders and Islesmen	64
Of the Scottish women, and of their houses	65
Of the Army	66
Difficulties on the Borders (1498)	66
Skirmish before Norham Castle	67
Interview between James and the Bishop of Durham	69
James's home policy after the Peace of Aytoun	70
The Plague	71
Study at the Universities	72
Education of Alexander Stewart	74
Debate in the English Council about the proposed Marriage between James and Margaret	75
The Scottish Ambassadors in London	76
The policy of the Scottish Marriage	78
Letter of the Scots Conservator... ..	79
The Peace between Scotland and England	81
Of the Jurisdiction of the Scots Conservator	84
Justice in the Isles	85
The Daily Council	85
The Journey of Margaret to Scotland	86
The Meeting of James and Margaret	88
The Entry into Edinburgh	89
Preparations for the Marriage	92
The royal apparel	94
The Service	95
Margaret in Scotland	96
An old custom in the Burghs	97
James warns the Duke of Gueldres against Edmund de la Pole	98
James and the troubles in Denmark	101
The Building of the Scottish Fleet	103
James's intended journey to Jerusalem	104
Pope Julius II.'s presents to the King	105
O'Donnel's request for troops	105
The introduction of Printing	107
The King's love of Alchemy... ..	109
Of the overloading of Ships	110
Wolsey in Scotland : Opposition of the Bishop of Moray	111

The bettering of the Highlands	112
The Pilgrimage of the Bishop of Glasgow	113
The Administration of the Borders	114
The Ayre of Jedburgh	114
The Great Michael... ..	116
Preparations for the Queen's visit to Aberdeen...	118
Dunbar's description of the visit	119
Fight off the Downs : Death of Andrew Barton	122
Birth of Prince James	124
The state of European politics	124
The same : Later	126
Nicholas West arrives in Scotland... ..	127
His conversation with Queen Margaret	128
West's interview with James at Stirling	129
Henry in readiness	133
Queen Margaret's letter to Henry	134
Scottish naval preparations	135
James endeavours to procure peace	136
Debate in the Scottish Council	137
James at Linlithgow	139
A Scottish herald sent to Terouenne	141
His meeting with Henry	142
The letter of complaint	143
Henry's answer	147
The Ill road	149
James enters England... ..	150
Parliament at Twiselhaugh	151
Preparations for Battle	152
Flodden Field	155
The Scottish dead	160
The finding of the King's body	162
Another account of the Battle	163
A Minstrel's Story	166
The advantages on the side of the Scots	170
Their heroic fighting	172
The Banner of St. Cuthbert	174
The slaughter by the English	175
The English camp plundered	176
The Bishop of Moray's responsibility	177
Conduct of the Lord Chamberlain... ..	178
Proclamation at Edinburgh	179
Of the relations between the Scots and English	180
Of Kingship	181
Of Excommunication	182

	PAGE
Surrey's Campaign in Scotland	46
The Peace of Aytoun	49
Of the punishment of thieves and sorners	53
The character of James IV.	54
Description of a Border Raid	183
A Lament for King James the Fourth	185

APPENDIX.

THE AUTHORITIES.

1. The Royal Letters	189
2. Polydore Vergil	190
3. Edward Hall	191
4. Bernard André	192
5. Pedro de Ayala	192
6. Hector Boece	194
7. Alexander Myln	194
8. John Young	194
9. Walter Ogilvy	195
10. Andrew Halyburton, &c.	195
11. Account of the Battle of Flodden	196
12. John Major	197
13. John Knox	197
14. Lindsay of Pitscottie	198
15. Calendars, Record Publications, &c.	198

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

1. Blood Relationship of James and Margaret	199
2. The Royal Family and its connections	201
3. Children of James IV.	202
4. Lords of the Isles	203
The Parliaments of the Reign	203
The Sees	204
Andrew Forman... ..	205
The Relations with Denmark	206
James's Relations with Gueldres	207
The Lollards	208
The Scottish Conservator	209
The Coinage... ..	210
The Artillery of the Period	211
Highland Costume and Armour... ..	213

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS.

	PAGE
Portrait of Bishop Elphinstone	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
Highlanders and Western Islesmen (<i>after Düver</i>) ...	<i>to face p. 64</i>
Lion of St. Andrew or Scottish Crown.	80
James IV. and Margaret Tudor	<i>to face p. 95</i>
Seal of John Armstrong	115
Sword of James IV., carried at Flodden	<i>to face p. 156</i>
Dagger of James IV., carried at Flodden	159
Standard of the Earl Marshal, carried at Flodden ...	<i>to face p. 162</i>
Seal of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld	187
Unicorn Piece	210

Map of the Borders... ..	<i>to face p. 49</i>
Map of the Isles... ..	<i>to face p. 85</i>





